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EARLY MUSIC

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A surprising Jubilee

Music played its part in the unexpected quickening of spirit that accompanied the Queen's Silver Jubilee when the capital emblazoned and hallowed festivity and pageantry. Some of the ceremonial music may have lacked the grandeur of Purcell and Handel and the carefully prepared background music, from Vivaldi to the Beatles, that accompanied the magnificent fireworks display may have remained unheard in that star-studded cacophony, but music has been at the very centre of the celebrations, with a prodigal diversity and extravagance.

The brilliance and liveliness rekindled from the past found a moving response in the hearts of today's Londoner whose horizons are too often bleak ledger sheets and the sterile rhythms of profit and loss. The evocative spirits of the Tudors, Elizabethans, Jacobeans, Georgians and indeed of the great Victorians, briefly encompassed him and the nation found a continuity and kinship with the mystique of the past that might yet bear imaginative fruit if given the chance.

★

In the worlds particularly associated with this journal, what better augury could there have been for some future renaissance than the undoubted success of the first conference on early music ever to be held here, 'The future of early music in Britain'. From the constructive tone of Howard Mayer Brown's opening remarks to the dry wit of John Cruft, head of music at the Arts Council, which ended the discussions, the mood was one of immense absorption. It was as if ideas and theories, pent up for years past, suddenly found expression in which the audience participated, made up as it was of eminent directors of ensembles, instrument makers, publishers, agents, teachers, representatives of the Arts Council, the BBC and the Gulbenkian Foundation, who had given financial help. Hostilities nurtured in isolation tended to dissolve in personal confrontation, and the Conference's greatest achievement was to bring together a rare range of views and experience. How packed with facts and ideas were the papers, how quick and intelligent the response from the floor, leading to a rapid exchange of themes, many of which deserved developing themselves or to become the subject of a separate seminar, as with baroque performance and early music in education.

Unlike the coruscations of the fireworks the results of this conference should not melt into the empyrean. 'Can the cooperative spirit of the conference be carried on in some more permanent form?' asked Nicholas Kenyon in the *Financial Times*. An invaluable permanent record will be provided in the Report soon to be published, details of which are in the enclosed subscription form. But the difficulties of finding an appropriate permanent organization will have to be solved in a way that does not inhibit or smother initiative but which is yet broadly based and truly representative. London has re-found its traditional role as mediator which if it can be made imaginative and sustaining would be the best possible mark of Jubilee year. May future commentators not be given the chance to prove us wrong.

J. M. THOMSON

Biblical instruments in medieval manuscript illustration

CHRISTOPHER PAGE

It is difficult to think ourselves back into the minds of men for whom [a sense of the past] did not exist . . . in the Middle Ages, and long after, it did not. It was known that Adam went naked till he fell. After that, they pictured the whole past in terms of their own age. C. S. Lewis[1]

When we consider the vast amount of medieval musical iconography devoted to the past—principally the range of subjects associated with King David—we find little evidence of 'a sense of the past'. For the most part medieval artists were content to represent the Old Testament king with the instruments of their own

Detail plate 22, page 307

day (plate 1), and even well-informed scholars like Nicholas Trivet (?1258-1328)[2] and Jean de Gerson (1363-1429)[3] discussed biblical instruments as if they were identical with those of Gothic Europe.

It is tempting to conclude that medieval artists and writers had no conception of the fact that musical instruments had evolved and developed since Antiquity, and to relate this ignorance to the lack of period-sense noted by C. S. Lewis. However, this would be rash. A number of medieval writers discuss instruments in evolutionary terms and acknowledge that their ancient forms were different from their later, or present forms. Isidore of Seville (*c*560-*c*636), a major authority on musical instruments throughout the Middle Ages, has a firm grasp of these concepts:

> According to [Greek] tradition, the form of the cithara was originally like that of the human chest. . . . Gradually numerous species were invented . . . some of square and others of triangular form. The number of strings was also increased and the type altered.[4]

So has a 12th-century copyist of Notker's hymns in a manuscript at St. Gall:

> Be it known that the ancient psaltery, I mean a ten-stringed instrument, was in the shape of a letter delta, which is very mystical. But when the musicians and minstrels adopted it for their own purposes, as one authority affirms, they made its shape and form suitable to their convenience, applying additional strings and calling it by the vernacular name *rotta*, thus altering its mystical form of the Trinity.[5]

These two explicit passages are by no means unique. Nicholas Trivet, for example, distinguishes the psaltery as it was 'from ancient times' (*antiquitus*) from the psaltery 'of modern form' (*moderne forme*),[6] and Aegidius of Zamora (13*c*) distinguishes biblical instruments such as the *cithara* from those of 13th-century Spain—*canon, medius canon, guitarra* and *rabr*—on the grounds that the latter were 'invented finally' (*postremo inventa*).[7] Such an evolutionary theory of instrument-history is outlined in general terms by the author of the *Summa Musicae* (13*c*).[8]

As we consider these passages we are naturally inclined to ask: where would a medieval artist have turned for models had he wished to represent King David with an 'historical' instrument? While it is true that copying and recopying of manuscripts occasionally bequeathed to the Middle Ages surprisingly accurate representations of ancient instruments (plate 2), there is no evidence that these were studied from an organological point of view, nor that medieval artists

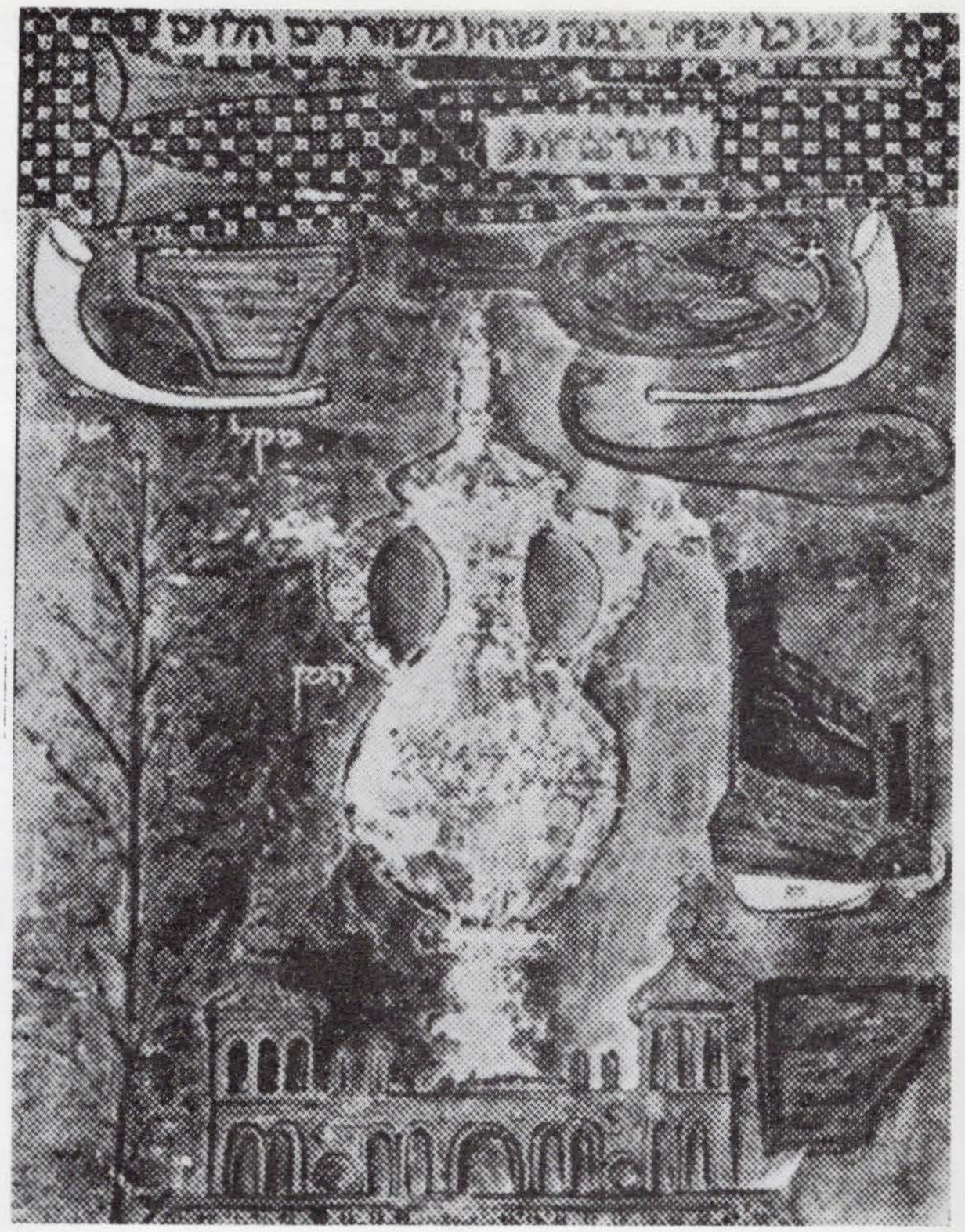

Plate 1 *Musical Instruments of the Levites. Farhi Bible. Completed 1382. From J. Leveen,* The Hebrew Bible in Art *(London, 1944), p. XXXVb.*

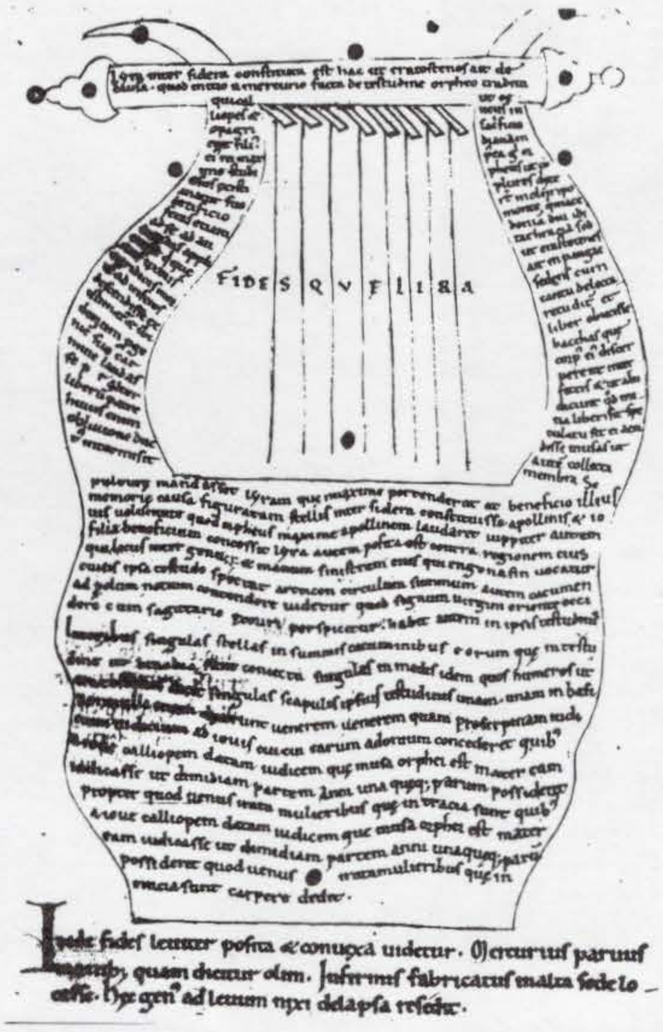

Plate 2 *The constellation* fides (lyra) *from an astrological treatise in the British Library, MS Cotton Tib. C.I. c1122, from Peterborough Abbey. This manuscript was copied from a 9th-century manuscript (now Harley 647), itself a copy of a late-classical model. Reproduced by permission of the British Library Board.*

or scholars ever undertook a survey of the musical iconography of antiquity.[9] Biblical archaeology was not an unknown subject in the later Middle Ages, but the remains of instruments that have now been uncovered from sites in the Ancient World were destined to lie hidden for many more centuries.

There was, however, one document, widely circulated and copied in the Middle Ages that purported to describe, with appended illustrations, some of the musical instruments mentioned in the Old Testament. It is the purpose of this article to show that the artists responsible for some musical illustrations in a few medieval manuscripts turned to copies of this work for models of ancient instruments in their belief that the instruments of the past were not, by any means, the same as those of the present. The evidence speaks for itself, and there will be no need to issue explicit warnings to musical iconographers.

Jerome's *Epistle to Dardanus*

One of the most baffling documents that the Middle Ages has left us purports to be a letter from one Hieronymous to one Dardanus, entitled *De Diversis Generibus Musicorum* ('concerning diverse kinds of musical instruments').[10] The letter describes, in most manuscripts with illustrations,[11] some of the instruments mentioned in the Old Testament (*organum, tuba, fistula, cithara, sambuca, psalterium, tympanum* and *chorus*—the last an instrument for the author of the text),[12] and one non-biblical instrument, the *bombulum* (the list varies from MS to MS). The earliest known manuscript dates from the 9th century (plate 3), and the latest from the 14th century.[13] Thereafter we lose track of it until the early 16th century, when parts of it appear in Virdung's *Musica getutscht* of 1511, occupying 'nearly forty per cent of the space Virdung devotes to his introductory survey of instruments'.[14] It has appeared in printed works on musical instruments ever since.

The letter was frequently copied during the Middle Ages. Hammerstein lists eight manuscripts,[15] to which may now be added another two (plates 4-6), and one text without illustrations.[16] It was also widely distributed, copies having been found in English, French, German and Italian manuscripts. The author was generally assumed to be St Jerome (*c*347-420), and given the materials then available, this was a perfectly reasonable supposition. The nature of the epistle—a study guide, in effect, for readers of the Old Testament—recalls Jerome's similar works on Hebrew

Plate 3 *Part of pseudo-Jerome's epistle. Angers, Bibliothèque municipale MS 18, fol. 13r. Chorus, psalterium, two tympana, psalterium and chorus. Between 840 and 850. Northern France. St Rémis de Sens? This is part of the earliest known manuscript of the epistle. Reproduced by permission.*

Plate 4 *Part of pseudo-Jerome's epistle. Rome, Vallicelliana, cod. E.24, fol. 26v. Psalterium and chorus. Late 11th century or early 12th. Umbro-Roman. Reproduced by permission.*

Plate 5 *Part of pseudo-Jerome's epistle. Rome, Vallicelliana, cod. E.24, fol. 27. Psalterium and chorus. Late 11th century or early 12th. Reproduced by permission.*

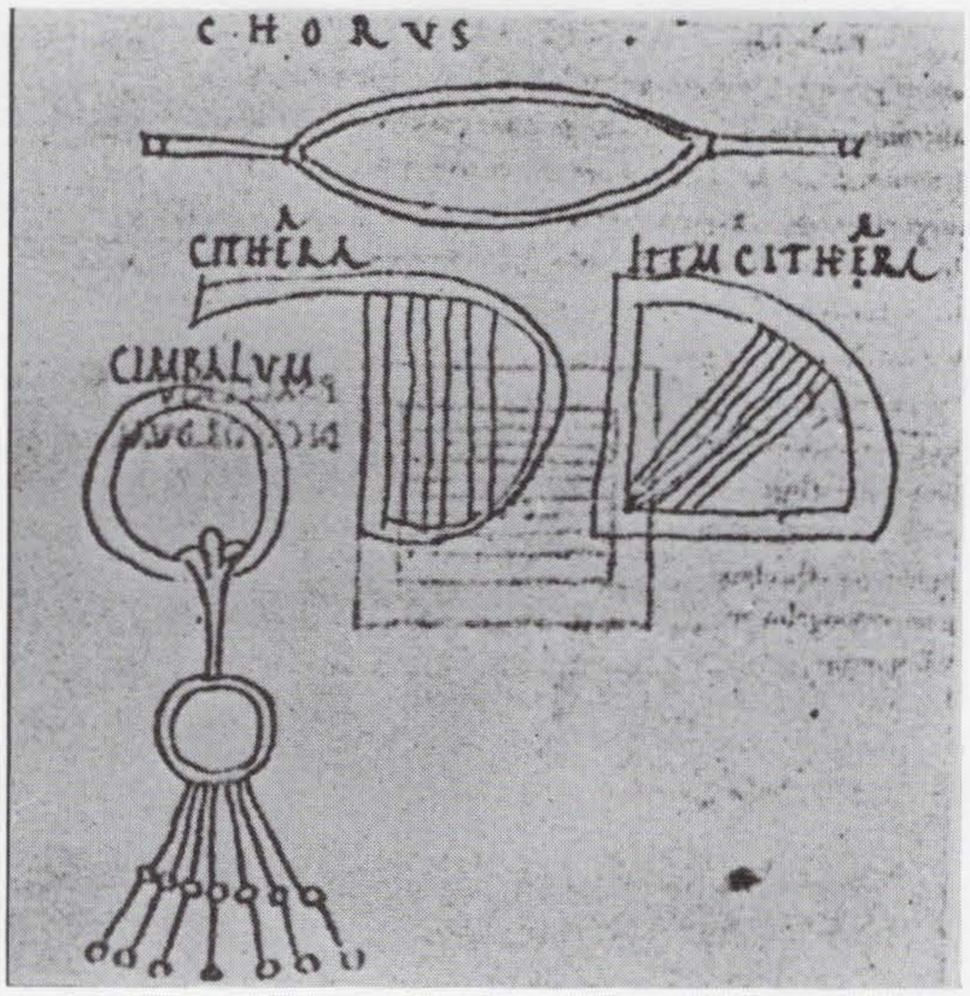

Plate 6 *Part of pseudo-Jerome's epistle. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS D'Orville 77, fol. 113v. Reproduced by permission.*

names and places mentioned in the Bible, and his collected works do contain another didactic letter addressed to Dardanus. However, historians of musical instruments have long been suspicious of this attribution, and it is not now believed that the epistle is much older than the earliest manuscript[17] (plate 3) which was illustrated in Northern France between *c* 840 and *c* 850.[18] Considering the date and provenance of this, the earliest known copy, it is tempting to conclude that the epistle originated among Carolingian scholars, who are known to have compiled 'handy textbooks or chains of select extracts from the Fathers'[19]. There is no doubt that Hrabanus Maurus (780-856), one of the most illustrious of their number, knew the Epistle in the early decades of the 9th century, for he quotes it almost verbatim in his *De Universo*, completed in 844.[20]

The illustrations of the manuscripts have been described as 'fantastic' and even 'a hoax'.[21] How far these statements are dependent upon their authors' ignorance of the fact that in the Middle Ages forgery was by no means irreconcilable with the most serious endeavour is not clear. Certainly it is very tempting for modern organologists who are more interested in accurate depictions of instruments than obscure biblical symbolism to dismiss these pictures outright. But let us imagine how the document first appeared to its medieval readers.

Firstly, it was not considered to be a forgery. It was assumed to be an authentic writing of St Jerome. This most learned doctor of the Church stood in the highest regard during the Middle Ages for his authoritative translation of the Hebrew, Greek and Aramaic texts of the Bible into Latin (the *Vulgate*) and for his many authoritative commentaries upon them. His letters, a large corpus containing a number of didactic items, were also prized. It is difficult to imagine how a document could present better credentials to a medieval reader and be more likely to command his respect than one coming from the pen of St Jerome.

Secondly, the illustrations of the document, generally labelled 'as Hieronymous affirms' or something similar, provided information on a subject that medieval scholars held to be of considerable importance for a true understanding of the Bible: the structure of the musical instruments mentioned in the scriptures. We must recall that the early Latin Fathers of the Church inherited from the Christian scholars of Alexandria the belief that acquaintance with the arts—and indeed with all subjects of worldly learning—was essential for the full study of the Bible.[22] Music, of

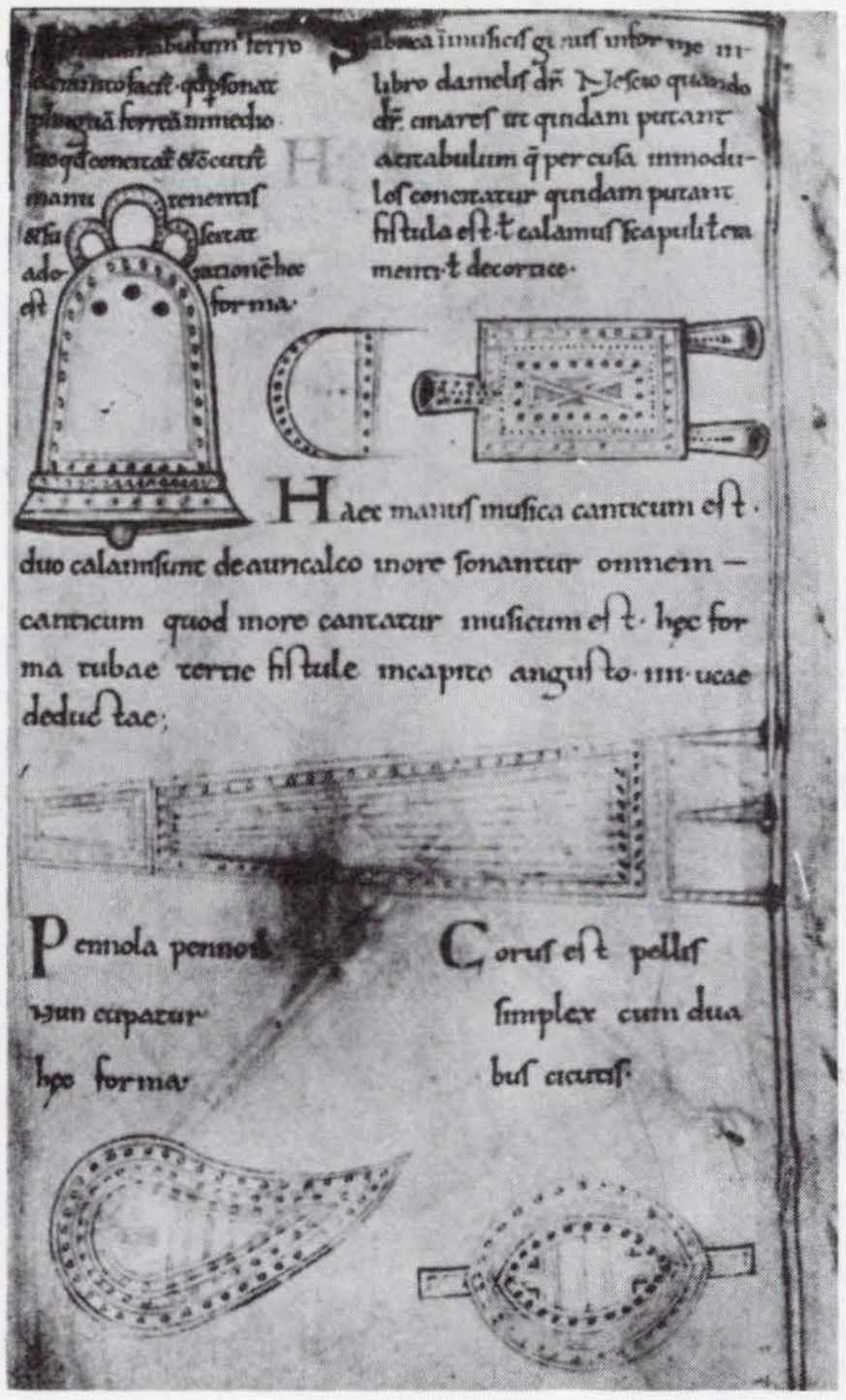

Plate 7 *Part of pseudo-Jerome's epistle. British Library MS Cotton Tib. C.VI fol. 17r. Tintinnabulum, sabuca (sic), tuba, pennola, corus (sic). English. Between 1041 and 1066. Reproduced by permission of British Library Board.*

Plate 8 *Part of pseudo-Jerome's epistle. British Library MS Cotton Tib. C.VI fol. 17v. David with psalterium. English. Winchester School. Between 1041 and 1066.*

course, had its place among the liberal arts, and the nature of musical instruments was a recognized area of musical studies. In his influential treatise *De Doctrina Christiana* St Augustine (354-430) stresses that a biblical scholar requires some knowledge of musical instruments, particularly their structure,[23] and the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus (*c*485-*c*580), a liberal arts syllabus for biblical students, contains a section on musical instruments.[24] Theologians continued to stress the importance of organological knowledge to biblical studies throughout the Middle Ages.

We cannot avoid the conclusion that pseudo-Jerome's epistle was treated as a serious and authoritative document. Thus it is no surprise to find a copy of the work forming part of the prefatory material gathered for study of the psalms in an 11th-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript at the British Library (plates 7, 8), or taking its place with such major musical authorities as Isidore of Seville and Cassiodorus in a 12th-century musical compendium at Balliol College, Oxford (plates 9-11).[25] We can also see how the epistle would have been useful to artists and writers. Musical theorists, scholars, and also very many artists were doubtless aware that instruments had changed since Antiquity—the mutability of worldly things was too much a favourite theme of the age for them to be entirely ignorant of that—they simply possessed very little information as to what changes had taken place, and how the instruments appeared when they were first used. The epistle appeared to provide historical information pertaining to the instruments of scripture, and the fantastic character of the illustrations probably impressed many medieval readers: what clearly did not represent the instruments of the present could be taken, in a work of such great authority, to represent the instruments of the past.

The epistle and medieval musical iconography

When we turn to medieval musical iconography to look for traces of pseudo-Jerome illustrations, we may distinguish three categories of representations:

(1) Illustrations in manuscripts of pseudo-Jerome generally reproduced in modern works out of context and taken to be actual instruments.
(2) Illustrations that seem to echo features of the pseudo-Jerome manuscripts though actual copying cannot be proved.
(3) Illustrations deliberately copied from manuscripts of pseudo-Jerome's epistle.

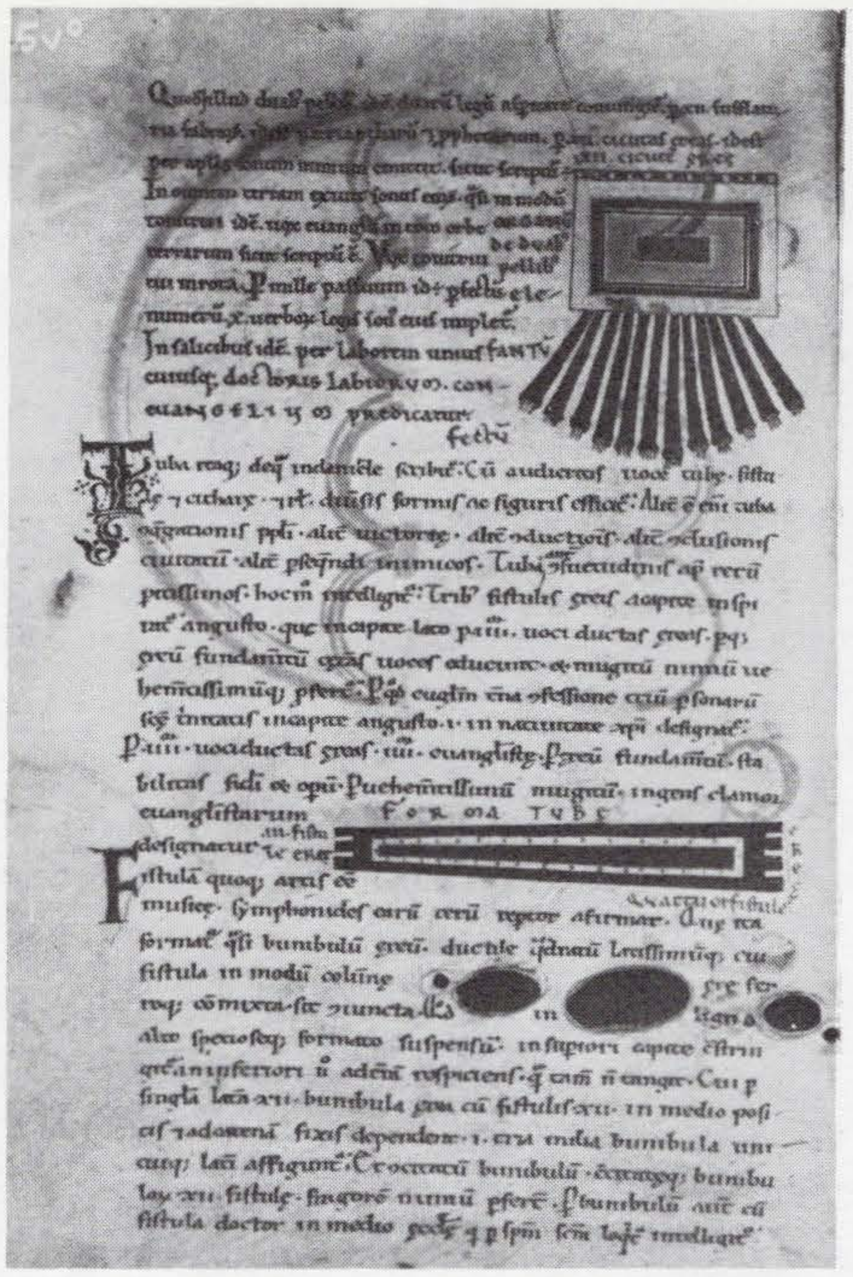

Plate 9 *Part of pseudo-Jerome's epistle. Oxford, Balliol College MS 173a, fol. 75v. Organum and tuba. Early 12th-century. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Balliol College.*

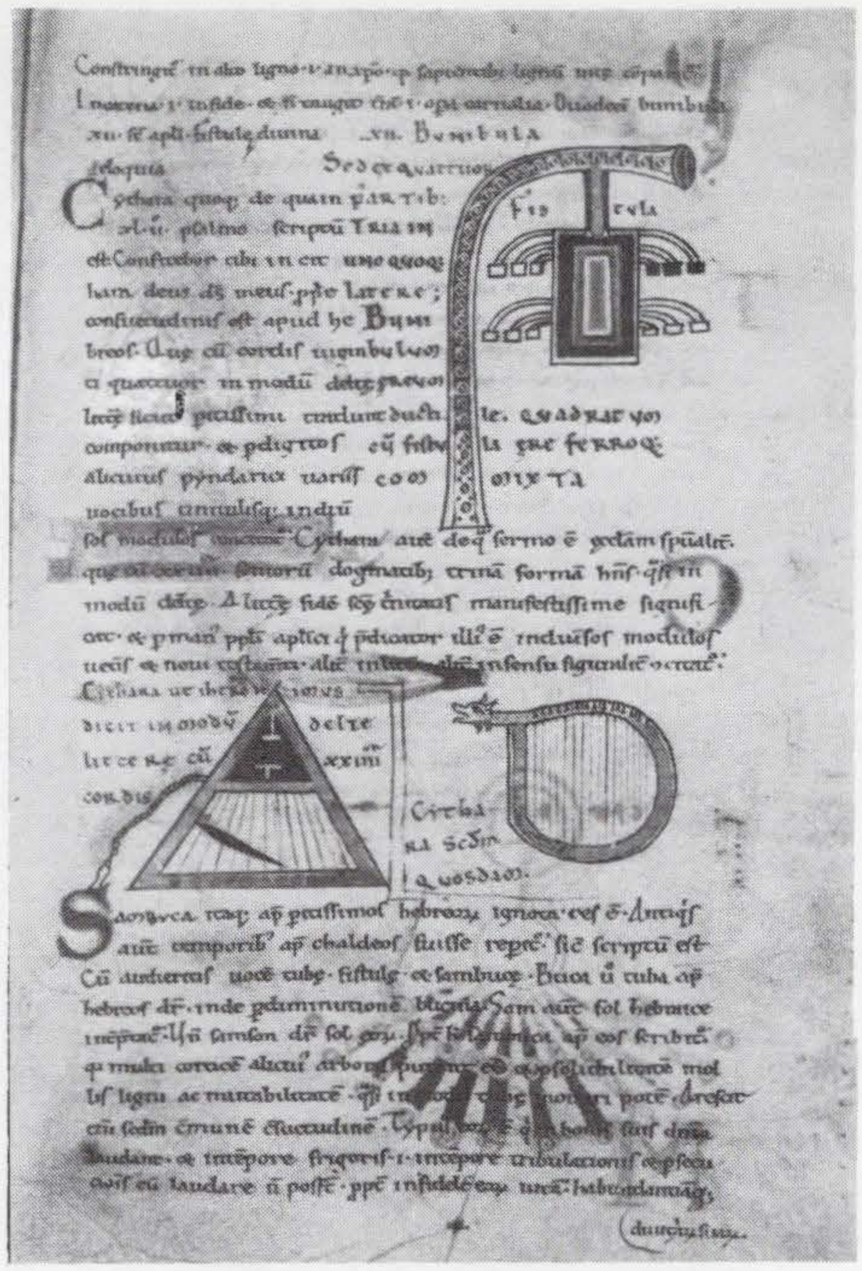

Plate 10 *Part of pseudo-Jerome's epistle. Oxford, Balliol College MS 173a, fol. 76. Bunibula, two citharae. Early 12th century.*

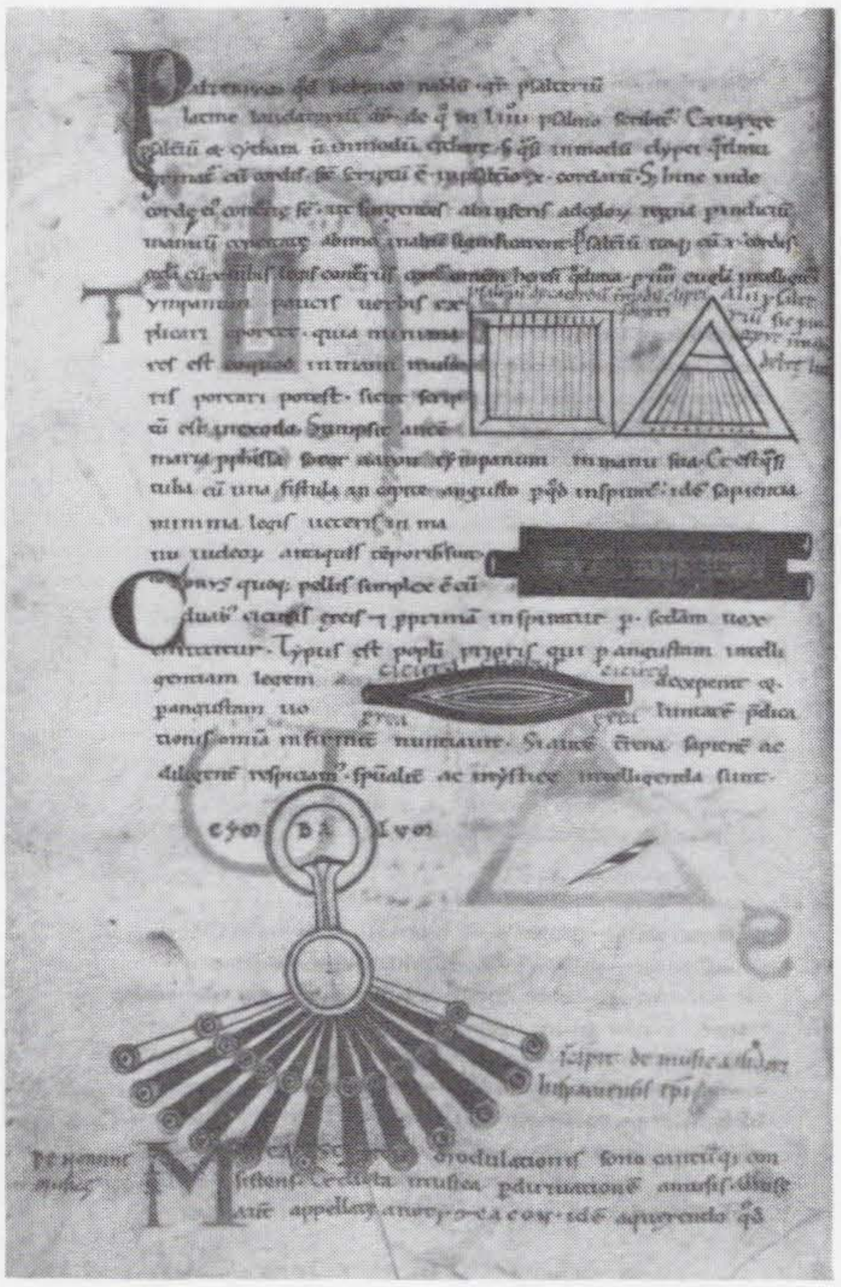

Plate 11 *Part of pseudo-Jerome's epistle. Oxford, Balliol College MS 173a, fol. 76v. Two psalteria, tympanum, chorus and cymbalum. Early 12th century.*

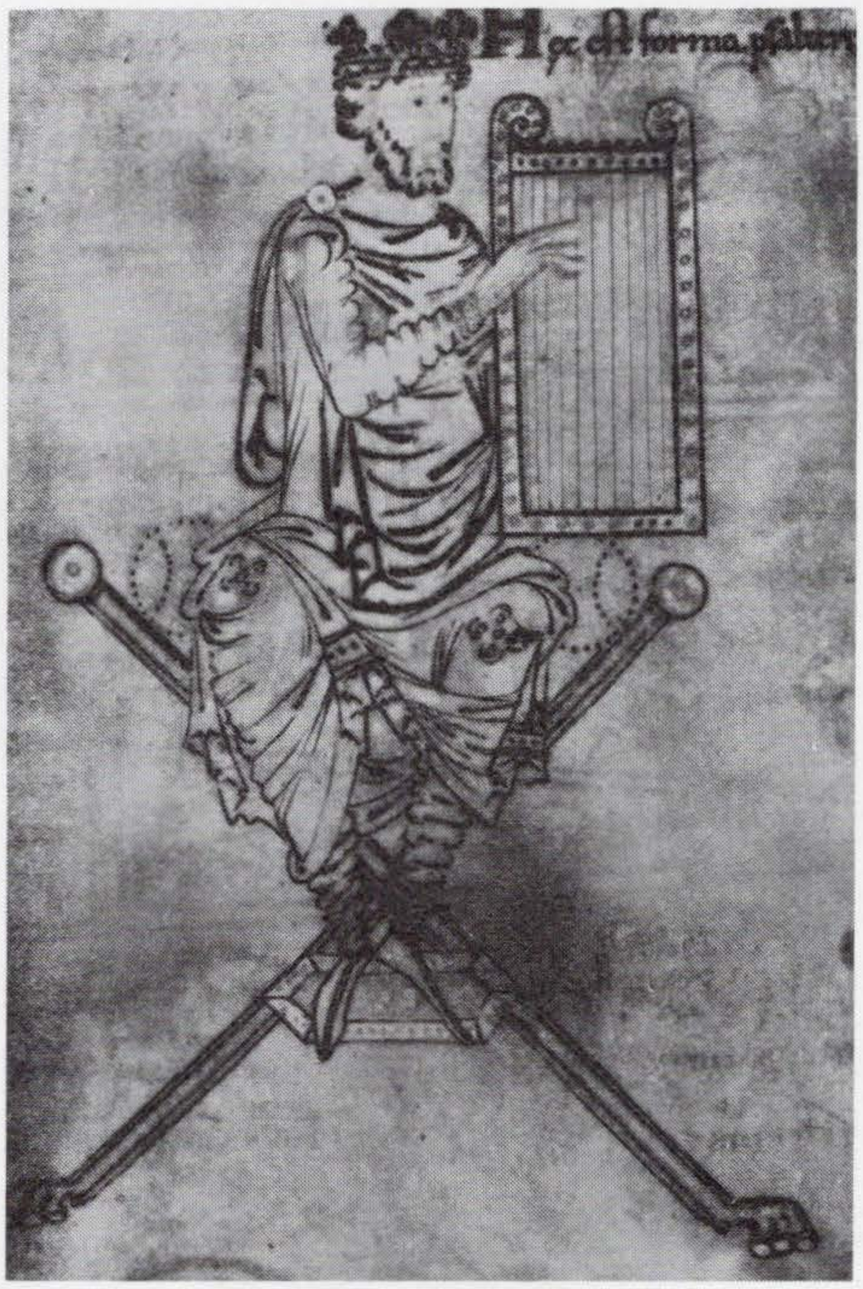

Plate 12 *The same illustration as Plate 8 as it appears in the 4th edition of Galpin's* Old English Instruments of Music *(Methuen, London) with confusion of string band removed.*

Illustrations of the first category

A striking example of an illustration of the first category is the representation of a *psalterium* in an 11th-century Anglo-Saxon psalter in the British Library (plate 8). In the fourth edition of Galpin's *Old English Instruments of Music* (revised by Thurston Dart)[26] this illustration is reproduced as an example of an 11th-century English psaltery. To add conviction to the illustration, the confusion in the string-band clearly visible in the original manuscript (plate 8) has been tacitly removed and the string-lines redrawn (plate 12). It is only necessary to turn the pages of the manuscript to discover that the illustration is actually part of a copy of pseudo-Jerome's letter, and in fact does not show an 11th-century English instrument. It should be pointed out that with the disqualification of this illustration, there is no longer evidence that zithers of any kind existed in England during the Anglo-Saxon period.

Plate 13 *Stuttgart, Öffentliche Landesbibliothek Bibl. Fol. 23. (The Stuttgart Psalter). Fol. 40, illustration for psalm 33. Third quarter of 9th century, N.E. France.*

Illustrations of the second category

Turning from actual manuscripts of the epistle to musical iconography in general, two illustrations from different periods may be cited that are reminiscent in certain details of the epistle illustrations: a representation of a musician with a stringed instrument from the 9th-century Stuttgart Psalter (plate 13),[27] and a similar representation from an 11th/12th-century troper now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (plate 14).[28]

In her book *Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages*[29] Hortense Panum noted a resemblance between the instrument reproduced here from the Stuttgart Psalter and the quadrangular *psalterium* from the Boulogne pseudo-Jerome (plate 15). Whatever the resemblances (and they are surely not remarkable) it must be admitted that the Stuttgart instrument has a suspicious look. The large decorative protuberances seem most unreal (*pace* Winternitz, who reproduces this illustration in his study of the cithara and cittern).[30] Furthermore the instrument has ten strings, always a danger sign on instruments of the zither class, for very often it signalizes the artist's attempt to illustrate the ten-stringed psaltery of Psalm 33 (which psalm, it should be noted, this picture illustrates). A further feature, which may well connect this illustration with the pseudo-Jerome tradition, is the triangular frame at the top of the instrument enclosing three keyhole shapes. These may be an echo of the similar shapes, often three in number, found in triangular frames on the top of some pseudo-Jerome illustrations (plates 10, 16, 17).

Plate 14 *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Lat. 1118, fol. 110. 11th or early 12th century. Reproduced by permission.*

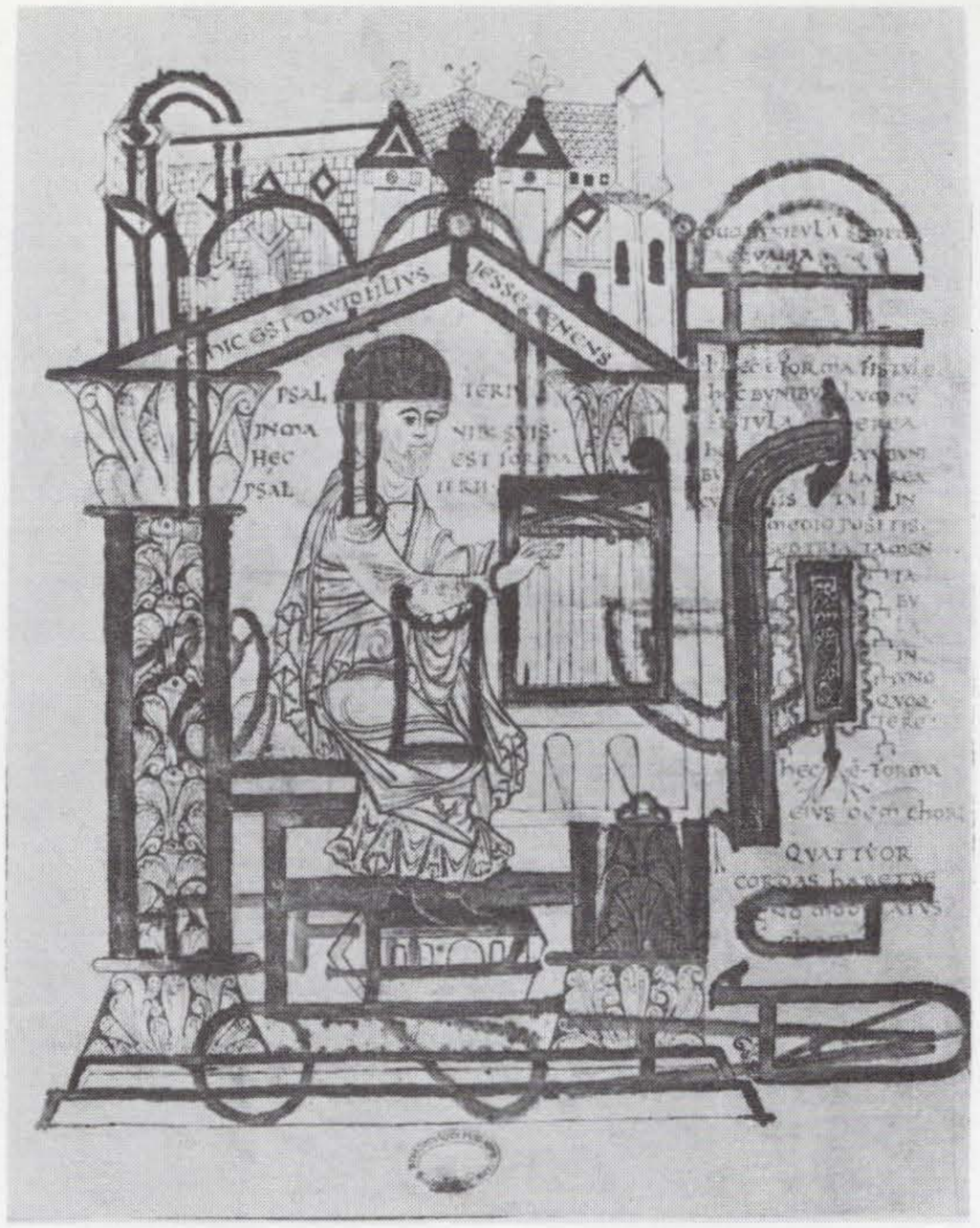

Plate 15 *Part of pseudo-Jerome's epistle. Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale MS 20, fol. 2v, Psalterium, fistula, chorus. c1000. ?999, ?1003. Illustrated by Odbert of St Bertin. Reproduced by permission.*

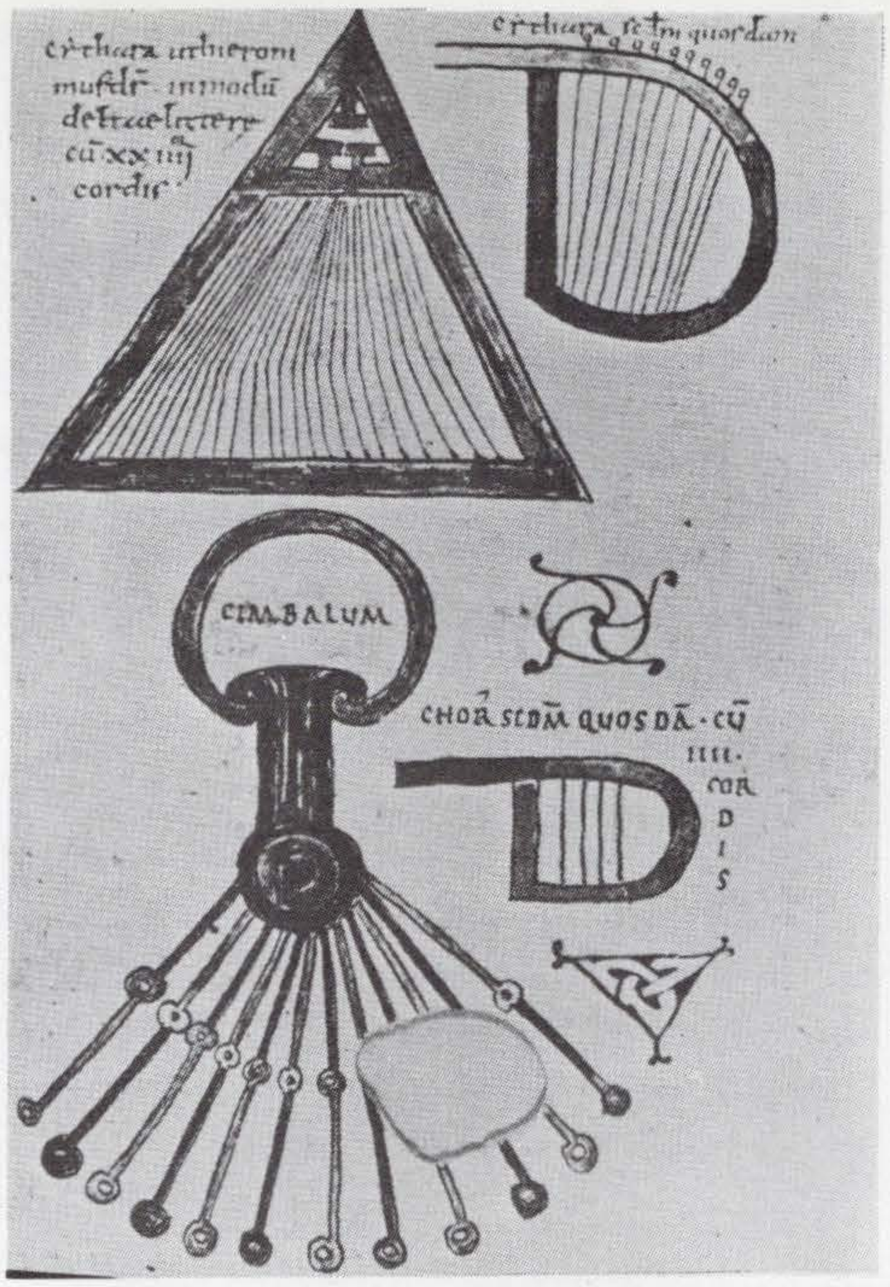

Plate 16 *Part of pseudo-Jerome's epistle. Munich. Staatsbibliothek, cod. lat. 14523, fol. 52r. Two citharae, cimbalum and chorus. 10th century. St Emmeran.*

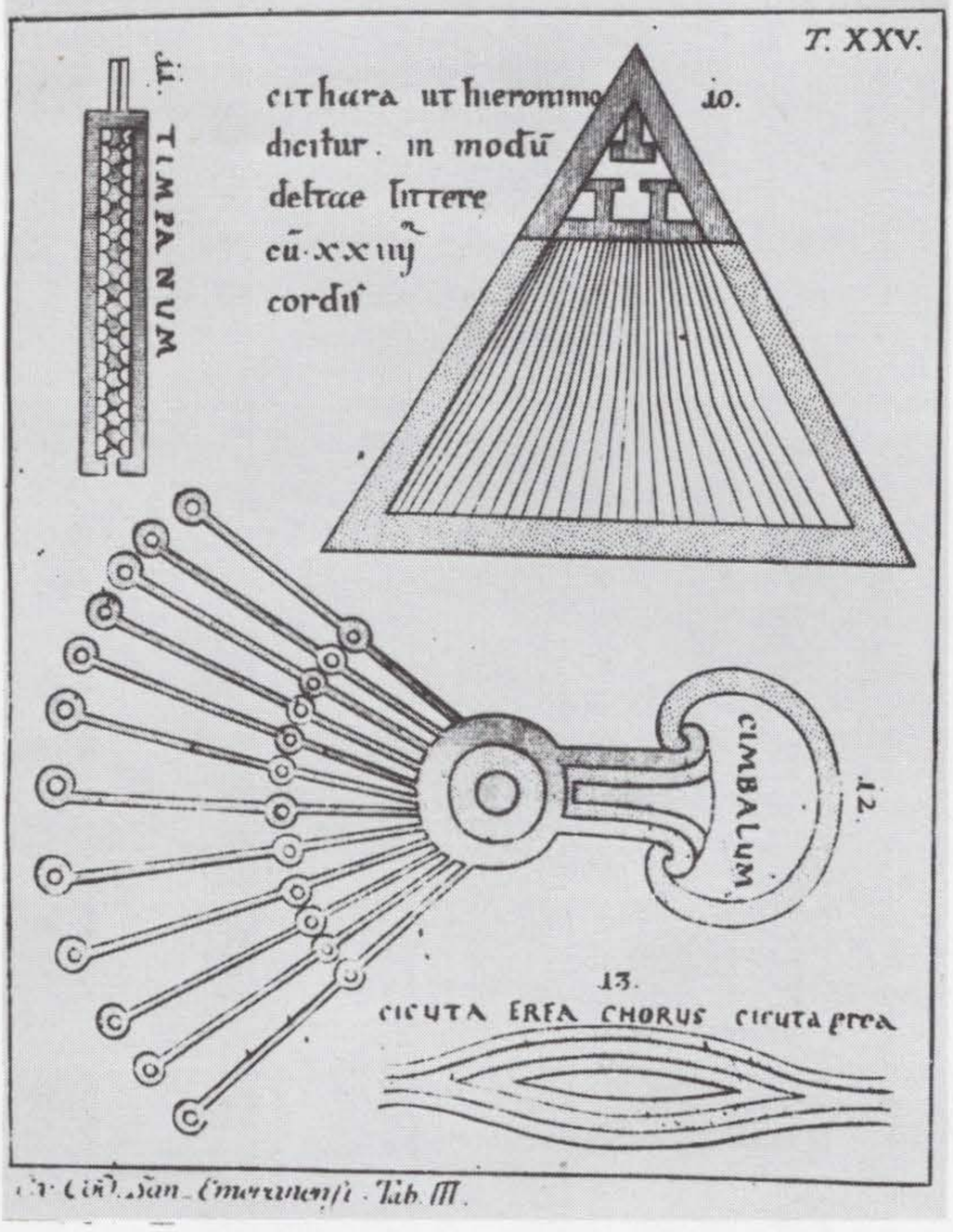

Plate 17 *Part of pseudo-Jerome's epistle, from a 13th-century manuscript found by Gerbert and published in the second volume of De Cantu et Musica Sacra,* St Blasien, 1774, T. xxv. Timpanum, cithara, cimbalum, chorus.

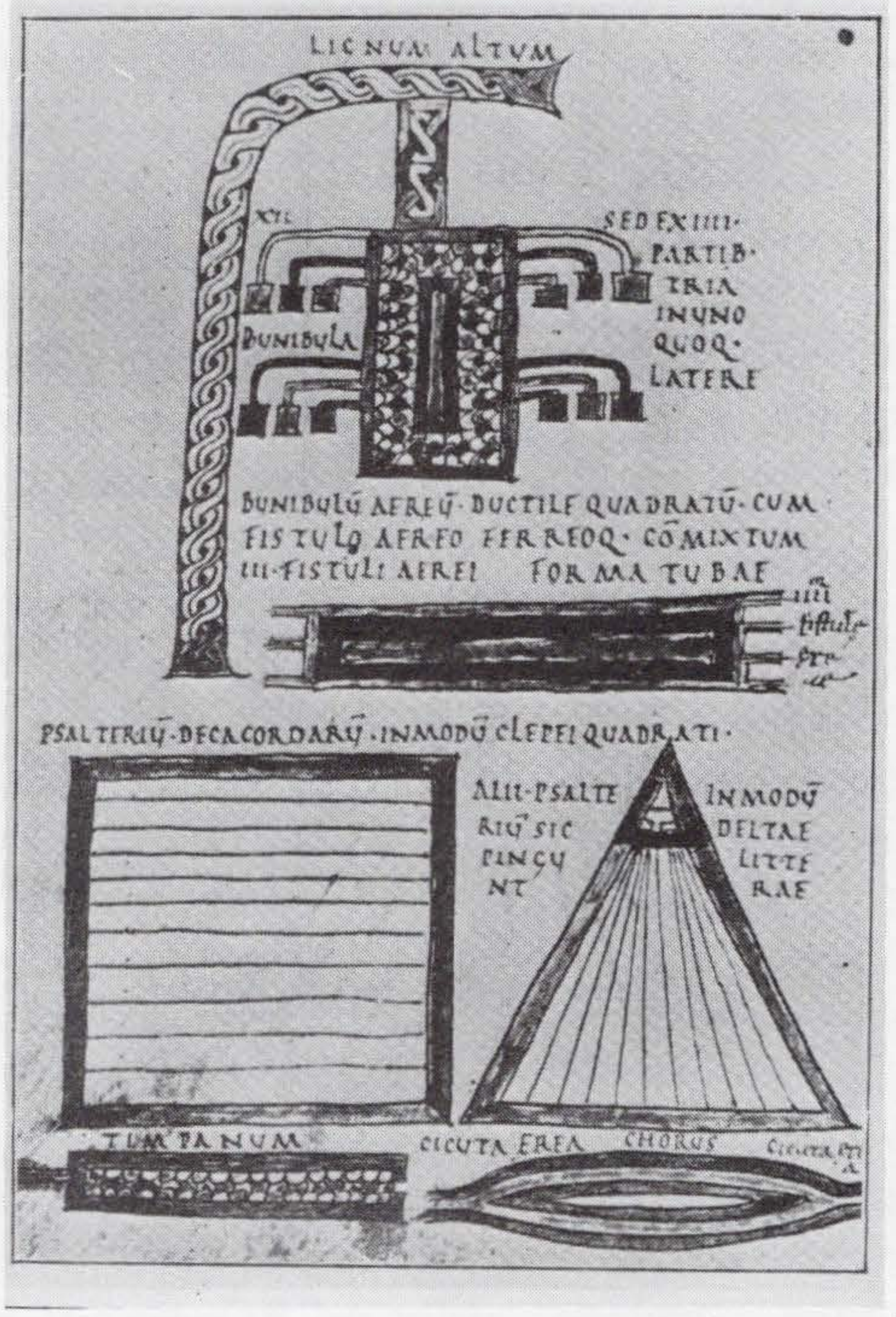
LIGNUM ALTUM
SED EX IIII PARTIB TRIA IN UNO QUOQ LATERE
BUNIBULA
BUNIBULŪ AEREŪ DUCTILE QUADRATŪ CUM FISTULO AEREO FERREOQ CŌMIXTUM III FISTULE AEREE FORMA TUBAE
PSALTERIŪ DECACORDARŪ IN MODŌ CLEPEI QUADRATI
ALII PSALTERIŪ SIC PINGUNT
IN MODŌ DELTAE LITTERAE
TYMPANUM
CICUTA EREA
CHORUS

Plate 19 *Part of pseudo-Jerome's epistle. Munich. Staatsbibliothek, cod. lat. 14523, fol. 51v. Fistula, tuba, two psalteria, tympanum, and chorus. 10th century. St Emmeran.*

The second example (plate 14), is well known and has often been reproduced. I suggest that it has at least been influenced by the pseudo-Jerome illustrations. The instrument has the same form and proportions as those in plates 3 and 15, and if the light-coloured bands are the strings (and elsewhere in this manuscript the dark shade is used for wood) then they number ten. Harrison and Rimmer suggest that this illustration represents the ten-stringed psaltery of the psalms, and I agree.[31] See postscript.

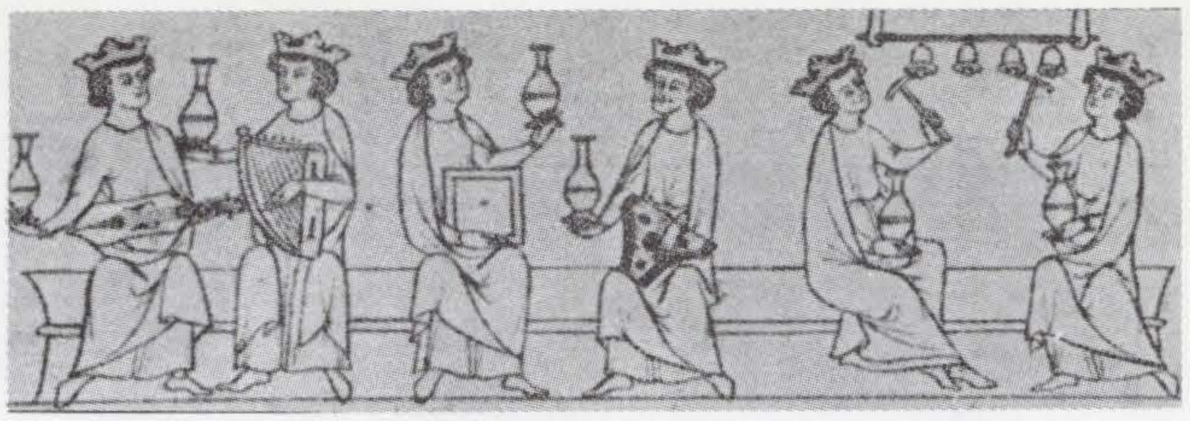

Plate 18 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS lat. 11907. Model book illustrated in the Champagne. Late 13th century. From R. W. Scheller,* A Survey of Medieval Model Books *(Haarlem, 1963), fig. 52 (detail).*

Illustrations of the third category

The first case of actual copying from a manuscript of pseudo-Jerome comes, appropriately and significantly, from a model book: a collection of subjects compiled by a workshop in order that potential patrons might choose the illustrative materials for their manuscripts before work actually commenced. The book from which our illustration is taken (plate 18) was illustrated in the Champagne in the late 13th century.[32] In the top two bands of the right-hand page an artist has drawn subjects derived from the Book of Revelation, including six elders of the Apocalypse with their stringed instruments and flasks (Rev 5:8). The third elder from the left holds a square object that is most likely intended to be a stringed instrument, as there is no basis in the text of Revelation (there is medieval iconographic tradition) for showing the elders with any other kind, though it is certainly not one of the standard medieval types. Outside of Spain the square psaltery does not appear to have been very much used in the later Middle Ages. Indeed, the artist seems to have been very uncertain about the appearance and mechanics of this instrument: it is undecorated and has no strings. It seems likely that it has been copied from a pseudo-Jerome manuscript (cf. plates 11, 19, 20).

The second example, this time a case of extended and most careful copying from the epistle, is taken from the Polirone Psalter (plates 21, 22), illustrated in Polirone under strong Roman influence, perhaps by Romans, *c* 1125.[33] Plate 21, taken from folio lv of the manuscript, shows David and his four musicians. It is a familiar illustration, having been recently reproduced by Werner Bachmann among others.[34] Bachmann calls the fiddle at the top right-hand corner of the manuscript a 'typical example' of the spade-shaped fiddle,[35] and indeed there is no reason to doubt that the stringed instruments, the horn and the hand bell are

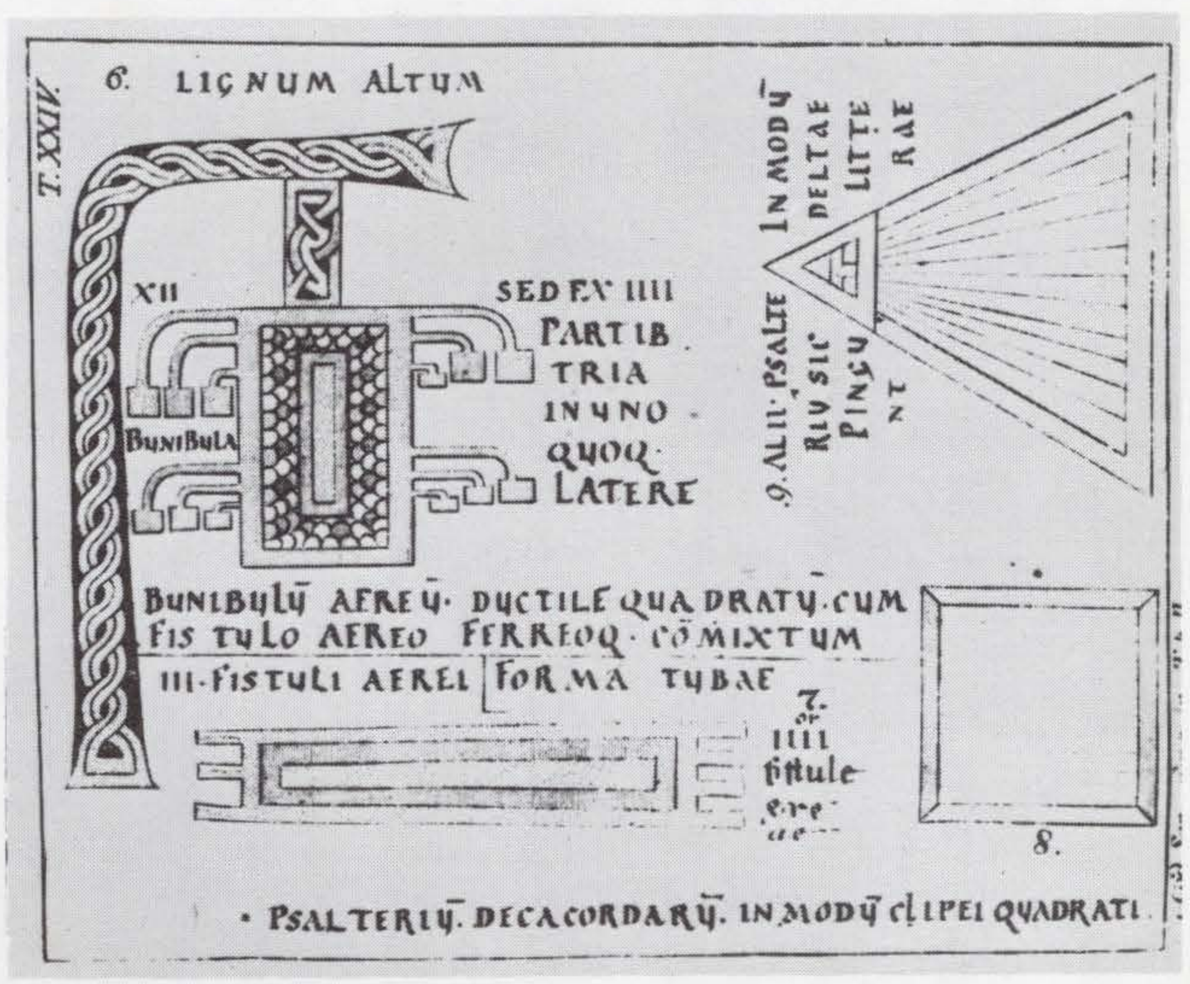

Plate 20 *Part of pseudo-Jerome's epistle, from a 13th-century manuscript found by Gerbert and published in the second volume of* De Cantu et Musica Sacra, *St Blasien, 1774, T.xxiv. Fistula, tuba, two psalteria.*

Plate 22 *Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, C.III.20, fol. 2 (The Polirone Psalter). Illustrated in Polirone c 1125. Reproduced by permission.*

Plate 21 *Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, C.III.20, fol. Iv (The Polirone Psalter). Illustrated in Polirone c 1125.*

drawn from life. But what of the wind instrument at the bottom of the picture? According to Sybil Marcuse it is a 'primitive form of bagpipe with short blowpipe, out-sized bag, short chanter—in all probability a double chanter, judging by its sausage shape',[36] and as a rationalization of the illustration this is reasonable enough. It is the underlying assumption that the illustration shows a 'real' instrument that is, I believe, at fault, for this is surely a *chorus* copied from a manuscript of pseudo-Jerome (*cf* plates 11 and 19).

Any doubt as to whether this 'bagpipe' is actually pseudo-Jerome's *chorus* is dispelled when we turn the page of the psalter, for here we find definite evidence that the artists had a copy of the epistle at hand (plate 22). The musician to the left of David holds what is undoubtedly a *cithara* from a pseudo-Jerome manuscript (*cf* plates 10 and 16), and the square instrument held by David has certainly been taken from the same source (*cf* plates 3 and 4). It is worthwhile to point out that the existence of the epistle in the area of Rome at about the time of the Polirone Psalter is not in doubt, for a copy of the letter is included in the Vallicelliana Psalter (plates 4, 5), an Umbro-Roman manuscript of the late 11th or early 12th century[37] (I do not suggest that the Polirone instruments were copied from this source).

In the manuscripts we have been examining, the influence of pseudo-Jerome illustrations, whether merely an echo of a striking feature or a direct copy, is part of an attempt by the artists to recapture the ancient forms of certain musical instruments. It was not thoroughly done—'biblical' instruments are sometimes mixed with modern ones—and we must avoid the temptation to over-intellectualize the artists' procedure. Suffice it to say that complete consistency of approach is rarely to be discerned in any medieval artistic procedures; we encounter instead 'chequer-boards of styles and approaches'.[38] We must regard these manuscripts as vivid expressions of certain medieval attitudes to musical instruments.

I am grateful to my wife, Régine Page of the Département d'Histoire de l'Art, University of Toulouse, who first brought some of the manuscript materials in this article to my notice, and to Professor Howard Mayer Brown, who read the first draft and made a number of helpful suggestions.

Abbreviations used in the notes

GS Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica*, 3 vols. (St. Blasien, 1784).

PL J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Patrologia Latina,* 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-1864).

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Reeves, M., and Beatrice Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore*, Oxford, 1972, p. 199f.
Francisci Blanchini Veronensis, *De Tribus Generibus Instrumentorum Musicae Veterum Organicae* (with illustrations), British Library, Add. MS 24110: an 18th-century antiquarian essay that draws deeply on medieval traditions.

Notes

[1] C. S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image* (Cambridge, 1964) p.183.
[2] Nicholas Trivet's commentary upon Psalm 150, with illustrations of musical instruments in Oxford, MS Bodley 738, fols. 250r-250v. But see below for Trivet on the psaltery.
[3] Jean de Gerson, *Tractatus de Canticis*. Text and translation in Christopher Page, 'An Early Fifteenth-century Treatise on Musical Instruments' (forthcoming).
[4] Translation from Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York, 1965), p. 98. Original text in PL 82 col. 167.
[5] Original text in Hortense Panum, *Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages* (London, 1940), p. 168.
[6] MS Bodley 738 fol. 250r.
[7] Aegidius of Zamora, *Ars Musica*, in GS, II, p. 388.
[8] *Summa Musicae* in GS, III, p. 193-4.
[9] For the earliest studies of the musical iconography of Antiquity see E. Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (London, 1967), p. 26ff.
[10] A convenient text is in PL 30 cols. 213-215. For a text with commentary see R. Hammerstein 'Instrumenta Hieronymi', in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 16 (1959), p. 117-34, with four plates. For a text with German translation and notes on sources see H. Avenary, 'Hieronymus' Epistel über die Musikinstrumente und ihre altöstlichen Quellen', in *Anuario Musical*, 16 (1961) p. 55-80. The title of the epistle alludes to Daniel 3:5.
[11] One manuscript without illustrations that has come to my notice is London, British Library, MS Royal 8.C.III, fol. 2r-6v.
[12] These are mostly the instruments in Daniel 3: 5, 7, 10, 15.
[13] Cambridge, Peterhouse 198, fols. 133r-133v, dating from the 14c, is apparently the latest known manuscript copy. See Hammerstein, *op. cit.,* plates 2, 3 and 4.
[14] E. M. Ripin, 'A Re-evaluation of Virdung's *Musica getutscht*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxix (1976), 2, p. 216. The illustrations appear on fols. Cijv to Diij of the 1511 edition.
[15] Hammerstein, *op. cit.,* p. 118-19.
[16] See note 11.
[17] For a review of scholarly opinion concerning pseudo-Jerome's letter see Hammerstein, *op. cit.,* p. 119. The view that the document is a forgery dating from the 9th century is generally associated with Curt Sachs (see *The History of Musical Instruments*, London, 1942, p. 281), but F. M. Padelford held this opinion at the end of the 19th century (see *Old English Musical Terms,* Bonn, 1899, p. 33).
[18] An exhaustive description is given in Hugo Steger, *David Rex et Propheta* (Nuremberg, 1961), Dkm. 6.
[19] Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (second edition, Oxford, 1952), p. 37.
[20] Text in PL III, cols. 495-500.
[21] See Hammerstein, *op. cit.,* p. 119.
[22] See Beryl Smalley, *op. cit.,* p. 12.
[23] For original text see PL 34, cols. 48-9. English translation by D. W. Robertson Jr., *On Christian Doctrine* (New York, 1958), p. 53.
[24] For original text see PL 70 cols. 1208-1209.
[25] For the contents of this manuscript see R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), no. 173a.
[26] F. W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, 4th edn., rev. Dart (London, 1965), plate 12, commentary page 45. For a description of the manuscript see Steger, *op. cit.,* Dkm. 27, 27a and 27b.
[27] Steger, *op. cit.,* Dkm. 16.
[28] Steger, *op. cit.,* plate 18 shows the other illustrations of instruments in this manuscript. See also Dkm. 33.
[29] Panum, *op. cit.,* p. 166.
[30] Winternitz, *op. cit.,* plate 15b.
[31] Frank Harrison and Joan Rimmer, *European Musical Instruments* (London, 1964), pl. 39a.
[32] See R. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (Haarlem, 1963), fig. 52.
[33] For an account of the manuscript see E. B. Garrison, *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, III, numbers 3 and 4, 1958, p. 216.
[34] Werner Bachmann, *The Origins of Bowing*, trans. Norma Deane (London, 1969), plate 26.
[35] Bachmann, *op. cit.,* p. 62.
[36] Sibyl Marcuse, *A Survey of Musical Instruments* (London, 1975), p. 674.
[37] Details of the manuscript may be found in Garrison, *op. cit.,* II, 2 (1955), p. 86-91.
[38] Elizabeth Salter, 'Medieval Poetry and the Visual Arts', *Essays and Studies 22* (1969), p. 20.

Ten-stringed psaltery with allegorical captions, from the Praemissiones, *Brit. Lib. MS Add. 11439, f.102v°, 14c.—a collection of genuine and spurious Joachimist works.*

The dotted note and the so-called French style

FREDERICK NEUMANN

Translated from the French by
*Raymond Harris and Edmund Shay**

Among the many problems that beset the pursuit of historic performance, few are as complex as the uncertainties surrounding the rendition of the dotted note. The issue was controversial even among the theorists of the 17th and 18th centuries—hence it need not surprise us that the controversy has persisted to the present day. There are various facets to the issue and only one of these has to do with the 'French style' of required strong overdotting—a modern doctrine widely accepted today as authentic. The article that follows, written in 1965, was to my knowledge the first published attempt to question its validity. This unorthodox attempt was bound to elicit a strong reaction. Michael Collins wrote an article 'A Reconsideration of French Double-Dotting' (*Music & Letters*, Jan 1969, pp. 111-23) in which he tried to disprove my arguments and Robert Donington lent his support to Collins (*The Interpretation of Early Music*, New Version, London, 1974, p. 451). In the meantime I have dealt with one part of Collins's arguments in a paper 'The Question of Rhythm in the Two Versions of Bach's French Overture BWV 831' (*Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Music in Honor of Arthur Mendel*, Cassel, 1974, pp. 183-194). Furthermore, in an article 'Facts and Fiction about Overdotting' that is to appear in the April 1977 issue of the *Musical Quarterly*, I introduced new evidence in support of my thesis; then set out to dispel the confusion surrounding the various categories of rhythmic alteration for dotted notes, and finally dealt with the remainder of Collins's arguments. After this new exchange of ideas I stand with increased confidence behind my first article. Since in my recent papers I had to refer frequently to this article, its availability in English could not have come at a more propitious time. I am very grateful to Messrs Raymond Harris and Edmund Shay for their fine translation and to *Early Music* for opening its pages to this study. *F.N. 15 April 1977*

The authentic interpretation of early music is a topic that creates the most lively interest among musicologists and intelligent performers in our time. This interest, however, and the specific discipline that emanated from it are of a somewhat recent date, since the first historically-oriented essays about interpretation only began to appear at the end of the 19th century. Consequently, one can easily understand how this young discipline might suffer from childhood diseases. The most serious disease with which it is afflicted is caused by a somewhat naive trust in the infallibility of historical treatises, and the symptoms of it are manifested in a faulty interpretation of these documents. Previously the treatises were either un-

Quantz, above, by an unknown artist is printed by permission of Kurhessische Hausstiftung, owners of the painting. It is exhibited at Schloss Fasanerie, near Fulda, Germany

* Published by permission of the *Revue de Musicologie*, where the original article appeared in vol. LI (1965).

known or ignored, then towards the end of the 19th century the enthusiasm of their discovery incited musicologists to exaggerate their importance. This exaggeration persists in our own day; it is evident in the tendency to extend the application of treatises beyond their legitimate scope, to generalize certain isolated passages too freely, and to consider as law that which was simply a general rule subject to many exceptions.

The infant stage is now passed, and it is time we judged these documents with more discrimination regarding the facts that can or cannot be obtained from them. Undoubtedly the treatises are sources of important information, but we must develop better methods for deciding more circumspectly and with better judgement what their validity in each case is, according to the period, the personality of the author, the region and the country.

If a large number of treatises are found to be in complete accord concerning a problem, one has the right to infer the existence of a convention for the country and period in question. If, on the other hand, it is a question of isolated documents, it is rash, lacking any supplementary proof, to claim a validity outside the immediate circle of influence of the author; if, lacking other evidence, generalizations are deduced that cross the boundaries of style, period, and nationality, it is no longer rashness, but pure and simple naiveté.

Among the questions concerning rhythm in old French music, there are two which, in point of view of the documentation, are situated at opposite poles. One, the convention of unequal notes (*notes inégales*), is established and clarified by an abundance of French documents which, by their quantity and complete accord, are impressive. The other, the dotted note and the so-called French style of overdotting, is proclaimed as a well-established principle; however, the documents are foreign, sporadic, late, and in part contradictory.

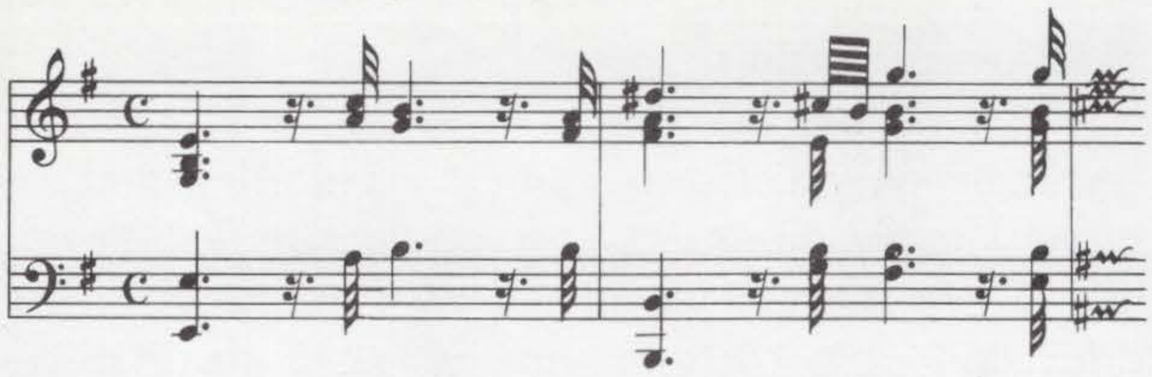
This theory of performing dotted notes is the subject of the present study. First, the facts will be stated, then the principal documents which have occasioned the formulation of the theory will be examined. Given the problematic character of the documents, an attempt will be made to find other sources of information that can shed light on the problem. In evaluating all of the evidence, the conclusion will be reached that the theory of the French style of obligatory overdotting is based, in large part, more on legend than historical fact, and that it is, in effect, one of the manifestations of 'childhood diseases', an illegitimate interpretation of historical treatises.

Of what does the French style consist? It consists essentially of two elements: one is overdotting, and the other synchronization. Overdotting means that the dot after a note is to be lengthened by a second or even a third dot, or a corresponding silence, and that the short note that follows the dot is to be played as late as possible. Synchronization means that if, for example, there are dotted quarters in one voice and dotted eighths in the other, the short notes following the dot must be played simultaneously and as quickly as possible.

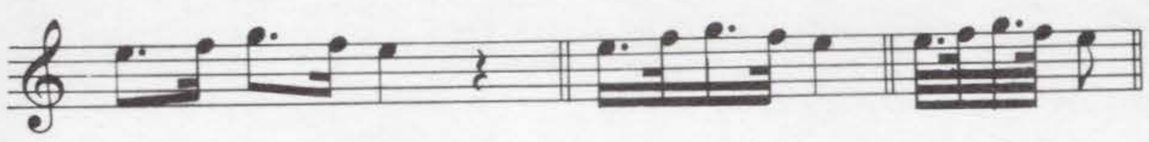
This manner of performance supposedly originated in France, where it permeated the overtures and dance music of the Lullian era. Thanks to the extraordinary vogue of the French overture and suite, it is then supposed to have spread across the whole of Europe, imposing something like an international convention that lasted until the end of the 18th century, embracing not only Couperin and Rameau, but Bach and Handel as well. According to Donington, it would be appropriate to employ double dotting whenever dotted rhythms are a characteristic element of a composition.[1] Although of an international currency, it is always in the entrées, sarabandes, courantes, chaconnes, passacailles, but above all in overtures in the French style, that this manner of performance would have been most appropriate, and its usage mandatory.

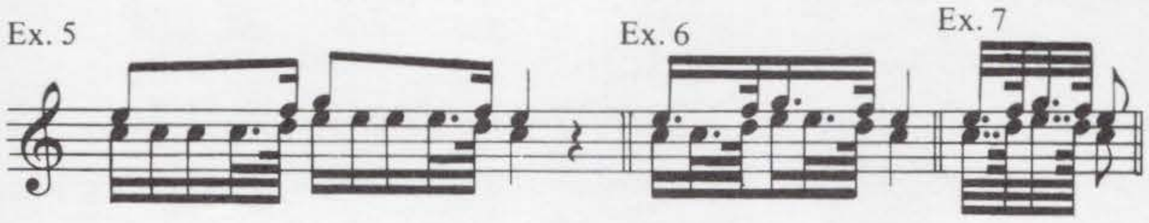
The principle of this application is formulated most clearly by Thurston Dart, who tells us that overtures, for example, ought to be played 'jerkily' with all the notes following the dots synchronized and reduced to the shortest rhythmic denominator.[2] His description of this manner of execution is so picturesque, that we shall call it the 'jerky style'. This theory has succeeded in establishing itself so firmly that one generally believes it to be based on incontestable evidence. In this connection one continually finds the phrases 'it is well known . . .', 'it is firmly established', etc. The question arises, what is the nature and the source of this certitude?

It seems that Arnold Dolmetsch was the first to proclaim this thesis, which he maintains is applicable in the works of Handel and Bach.[3] As an example he gives the overture from *Messiah* which, according to him, should be played in the manner illustrated in example 1. The principal documents on which he bases his theory are the texts of Quantz (1752) and of C. P. E. Bach (1753). Dolmetsch concedes that he was

Ex. 1 Handel, *Messiah*, Interpretation by Dolmetsch

unable to find any earlier document, and it seems no other writer has been able to find one either. In his recent book, A. Geoffroy-Dechaume, who subscribes to the same theory, calls upon the same two authors.[4] In the Donington book these two sources, Quantz and Bach, are again the principal basis on which this theory is built. They are weakly corroborated by Leopold Mozart and by an example of doubtful worth by Couperin; these will be examined later in the paper. It will therefore be necessary to carefully examine the doctrines of these two Berlin authors.

In his famous book on the flute, Quantz deals with the question of dotted notes principally in two places.[5] The first of these passages is found in Chapter V, which deals with metre and note values. Quantz tells us first, as do moreover all the treatises without exception, that the dot is worth half of the value of the note which precedes it, and he demonstrates the principle with the illustration of a dotted half-note and a dotted quarter-note (par. 20). In the next paragraph he reveals the exceptions. He explains that for dotted eighths, sixteenths and thirty-seconds, one deviates from this rule because of the 'liveliness' (Lebhaftigkeit) which these notes ought to express, and indicates that all of the short notes in examples 2, 3, and 4 are of the same duration, that is to say, like a sixty-fourth-note. (He

Ex. 2 Ex. 3 Ex. 4

simply wanted to express that they were played as fast as possible.) In order to be more explicit he indicates in examples 5, 6 and 7, the long prolongation of the

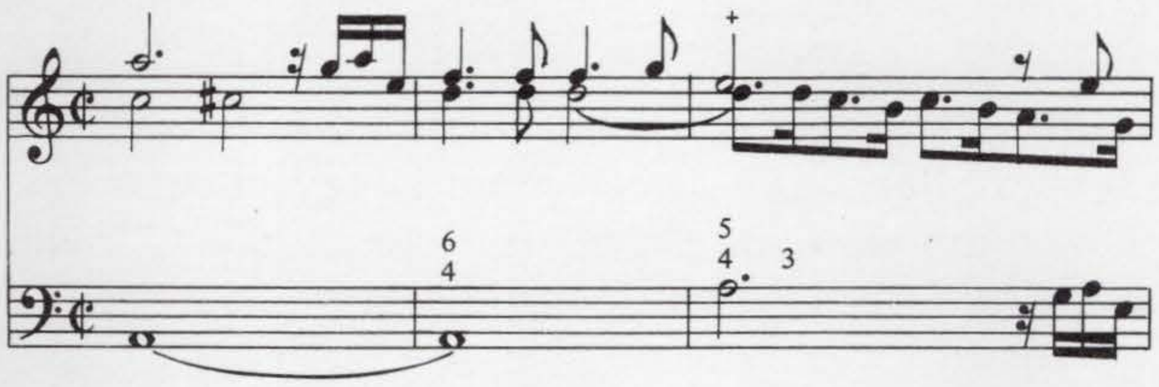
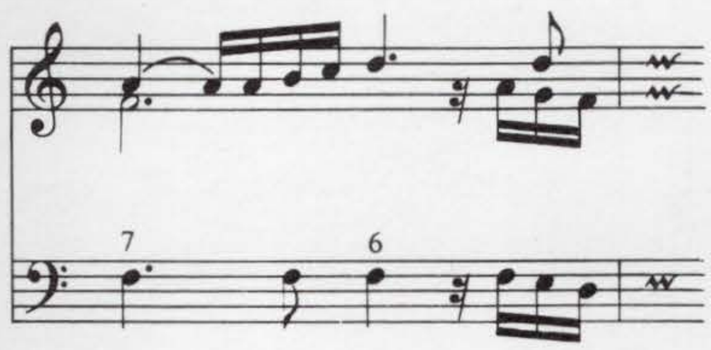
Ex. 5 Ex. 6 Ex. 7

dot for the notes of the upper voice by lining up their sixteenth and thirty-second-notes with the sixty-fourth-notes of the lower voice 5 and 6. It is believed these examples indicate that it was always necessary to synchronize the short notes that follow a dot in different voices, after reducing them to the smallest value. Here is the original source of the 'jerky style', a modest source which, fed by a generous flood of ink, has grown into a mighty river that threatens to inundate the music of two centuries.

However, if one reads the text attentively one perceives that Quantz does not in any way speak of such a synchronization of two voices. The rhythm in example 7 would be impossible to find actually notated in music. There can be no doubt of the fact that it is not a question of the mutual agreement of two independent voices in example 7, it is, instead, a method of indicating the value of the short note: a pedagogical clarification.

In some circumstances a radical shortening certainly ought to produce synchronization, and there is no doubt that synchronizations was practised from time to time. But this fact does not permit one to consider synchronization, based on Quantz, as a general principle, the less so, since Quantz does not mention it in his text.

Until now Quantz has dealt with interpretation in general, without mentioning a specific national style that was connected with certain forms. Only in the chapter dealing with the duties of the accompanist (chap. XVII, section VII) does he specifically speak about French dance music. He tells us there that, in general, it is necessary to use heavy and detached bow strokes, to play dotted notes with emphasis, and the notes that follow them briefly in an incisive manner. Then, in par. 58, he specifies that in ¢ and in the 3/4 metre of loures, sarabandes, courantes, and chaconnes, one must play the eighth-notes following dotted quarters not according to their normal value, but in a very short and sharp manner. It is important to note that, in speaking of the dotted quarter-note, he does not mention the overture. The only mention of the overture is made in a somewhat incidental way in the following sentence: 'If a dot or a rest is followed by three or more thirty-second notes, these are played, especially in slow pieces . . . at the extreme end of the time allotted to them, and with the greatest possible speed, as is frequently [öfters] the case in overtures, entrées and furies.'[6] Several modern authors seem to have ignored the limitation of this directive to thirty-second-notes, and in invoking the authority of Quantz, have applied the same principle without hesitation to sixteenth-notes. Geoffroy-Dechaume, for example, cites the same passage by Quantz on thirty-

second notes, and as illustration follows it with the *Alceste* overture of Lully presented in the 'jerky style', although it concerns itself with sixteenth and not thirty-second notes (example 8). He continues his

Ex. 8 Lully, Overture to *Alceste*

Interpretation by Geoffroy-Dechaume

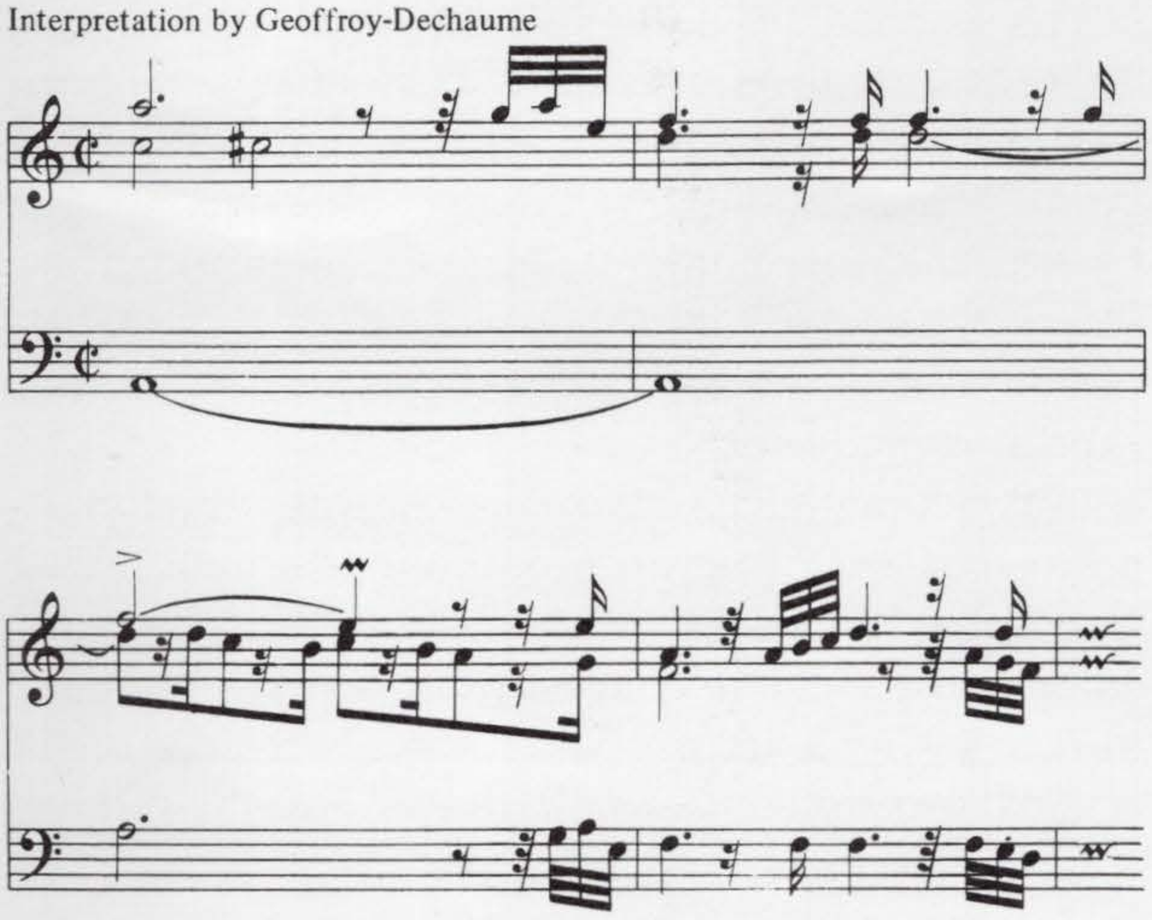
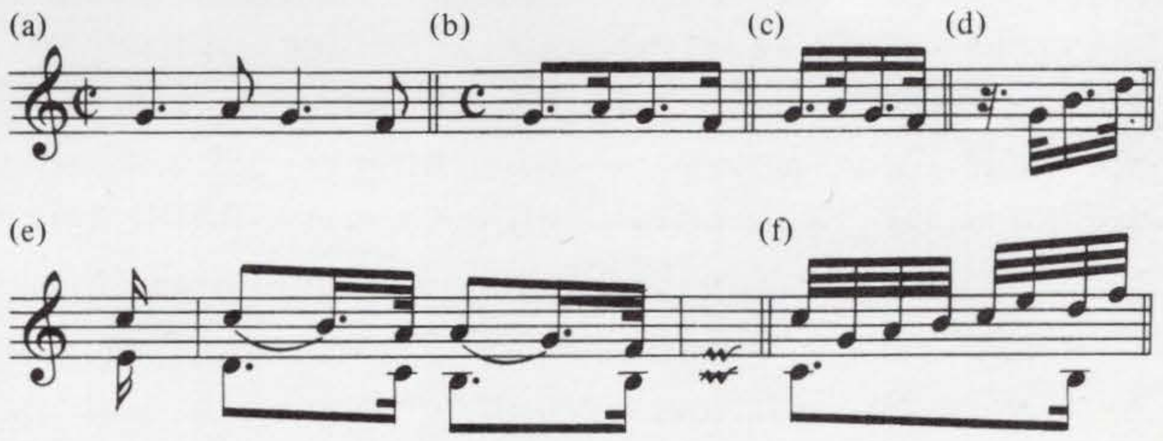


illustration of Quantz's doctrine by demonstrating the necessity of subjecting the overture from J. S. Bach's Suite in B minor for flute and strings to the jerky treatment.[7]

Let us try in a few words to summarize the meaning of Quantz's instructions. He tells us that the notes that follow dotted eighths or sixteenths must be played as fast as possible because of the liveliness of expression. This appears to imply that if the character of the piece or of the dotted passage does not incline toward liveliness, then the principle would not be applicable. Although, in certain cases the shortening of quick notes implies a synchronization with notes of different values, Quantz does not mention it. When writing about French dance music he describes the over-dotting of quarter-notes in certain characteristic pieces, but does not mention overtures. He then speaks only of the shortening of thirty-second-notes, provided there are at least three or four of them. In all, Quantz says less than one generally attributes to him. Before posing the question of the validity and scope of his opinions, let us examine the doctrines of the second witness, C. P. E. Bach.

The passages dealing with dotted notes are found in both sections of C. P. E. Bach's book, originally published nine years apart.[8] The first part deals with the art of the soloist (1753), and the second with the art of accompaniment (1762). In part one (chap. III, par. 23), Bach tells us that: 'The short notes which follow dotted ones are always shorter in execution [werden ... kürzer abgefertigt] than their notated length; hence it is superfluous to mark them with dots or dashes [mit Puncten oder Strichen]. One can see their execution in example 9.' This sentence is the cause of two distinct

Ex. 9 C. P. E. Bach

misunderstandings. First, Dolmetsch[9] and Geoffroy-Dechaume[10] have misunderstood the *Puncte* and *Striche*, which mean that the articulation is to be detached and marked. However, both authors believed it was a question of a second dot to lengthen the first note, and an additional flag for the second.[11] For the second misunderstanding, Dolmetsch and Donington have interpreted this phrase as signifying that the value of the short note in examples 9(a), (b) and (c), is always the same, namely that of a thirty-second-note. Nevertheless, one finds nothing in the text or in the three examples to support the idea of exaggerated overdotting.[12] However, even though the letter of the text does not seem to admit it, it is probable that Bach had a certain prolongation of the dot in mind. In an additional note to the third edition, inserted in the course of this paragraph, the term *kürzer abgefertigt* is used undoubtedly to suggest rhythmic contraction. In addition, example 9(e) and a

passage from the second part of the book, which will be referred to later, could lead us to believe that Bach wanted to speak of prolongation in this passage. If one assumes this, then the first sentence of the text becomes incoherent. If one does not assume it, then the use of the term *kürzer abgefertigt* only leads to confusion. Example 9(e) shows, without further comment, a case of double dotting in which two parallel voices of a purely homophonic nature are synchronized (one of the voices is simply a little more ornamented than the other). In contrast, example 9(f) illustrates the case of two independent, i.e. polyphonic, voices where such an overdotting would corrupt the counterpoint. Bach's commentary is significant: 'Occasionally the interplay of the voices requires one to use the notated values [Zuweilen erfordert die Eintheilung, dass mann der Schreib-Art gemäss verfährt]'. This is a very important principle that Bach reiterates even more explicitly in the second part of the book.

The passage continues: 'Dots after long notes [Die Puncte . . . werden gehalten], as well as those after short ones in a slow movement, and also isolated dots are held'. Here again we have an ambiguous expression. *Die Puncte halten* normally means to hold the dots for their entire value (the same thing that is indicated by the Italian term *ten(uto)* above a note). But if Bach, as is probable, wanted to indicate prolongation more than the exact holding [of the dot], he has not expressed himself clearly, and the vagueness and indifference of the expression do not suggest a marked prolongation. Moreover, in the next sentence he uses the word *halten* clearly in the sense of holding to the exact value: 'If several dotted notes succeed each other, particularly in a rapid movement, they are seldom held, *even though the notation demands it** [Kommen aber, zumal in geschwindem Tempo, viele (Puncte) hinter einander vor, so werden sie oft nicht gehalten, ohngeacht die Schreib-Art es erfordert]'. This means that in place of holding (*halten*) the dots for their exact value, corresponding to the notation, they must be shortened.[13] Bach continues: 'Given this alternative, it would be best to indicate everything in an exact manner [in the notation]; if this is not done, then the content of the piece will clarify it for us.' The alternative of which he speaks is probably that between prolongation and shortening. 'One holds the dots of short notes which are followed by groups of shorter ones' (example 10). If he is speaking of double dotting, then he contradicts himself in the following sentences, which are the beginning of the original insertion for the third edition: 'In figures (*Figuren*) where dotted notes are followed by four or more notes, these last are [already] sufficiently short because of their number [Bey Figuren, wo auf die Puncte vier und noch mehrere kurze Noten folgen, werden diese durch ihre Vielheit kurz genug]'. Therefore, Bach is explaining that they are played according to the notation, because there is no need to shorten them more.[14] 'The same applies to the figures in example 11 and, if the tempo is not too slow, to the figures in example 12.' This

Ex. 10

Ex. 11

Ex. 12

means that in the case of examples 11 and 12 overdotting does not take place.

This is all quite different from what Quantz said. There is also divergence with Quantz regarding the treatment of *lombard* rhythm, where a short note placed on the beat is followed by a dotted note. According to Quantz, the short note is shortened both in the allegro and in the adagio; according to Bach, it is not necessary to shorten it when the movement is slow or of an expressive character.[15]

In reviewing the entire passage of which a painfully detailed analysis has just been presented, one cannot avoid the conclusion that much of it is obscure, ambiguous, and even contradictory. This does nothing to increase its authority, since even the reader of the original text would not know how to draw the author's exact opinion from it without recourse to conjecture. And it was only by excessive abuse of conjecture in the French and English translations that several writers have succeeded in transforming this passage into a manifesto of decided overdotting. Fortunately, a paragraph in the second part of the book illuminates very many of these uncertainties, and repudiates many of these conjectures. In this passage (Part II; chap. 29, par. 15) Bach returns to the problem and summarizes his ideas about it in a clearer and more orderly manner. Here is the passage: 'In writing dotted notes the needed precision is often lacking. A general rule regarding the execution of these notes has been advanced which, however, *allows for many exceptions.**

* My italics—F.N.

According to this rule, the notes that follow dots should be played very quickly, and often this rule is correct. However, there are some cases where the rule cannot be applied, because the disposition of notes in different voices requires their exact coordination [Allein bald machet die Eintheilung gewisser Noten in verschiedenen Stimmen, vermöge welcher sie in einem Augenblicke zusammen eintreten müssen, eine Aenderung]. In other cases a tender [flatierend] expression would hardly survive the defiant effect [das Trotzige] produced by dotted notes; this is one reason to shorten the duration of the dots. *If only one type of execution is allowed, one loses the other types.*'[16] This last sentence seems to repudiate the 'style' which admits of only one type.

In the light that this paragraph sheds on the former passages, it is possible to formulate the quintessence of Bach's ideas as follows: (1) In homophonic pieces and in pieces of a vivacious or energetic character, dots are often lengthened; (2) In polyphonic pieces it is necessary in general to respect the precise duration of the dot in order not to disturb the mutual rapport of the independent voices; (3) In pieces of a tender character, it is often necessary to shorten dots so as not to introduce a contradictory expression. The same shortening often takes place in a rapid tempo when there is a succession, or series of dotted notes.

The limitation of overdotting to a homophonic structure is not only dictated by musical logic, but is clearly implied when, in both passages, Bach speaks of the necessity of the agreement between different voices; a necessity which would forbid a deviation from the notated values. Example 9(f) serves as illustration.

In all of this discussion Bach speaks of music in general and, it goes without saying, principally of his own. He mentions neither French music, nor particular forms to which his principles would apply more than to others. In short, what he tells us is scarcely more than what, for a long time, was part of the interpretative freedom of the soloist, an implicit freedom seen as an authority conferred by 'taste', combined with an attitude much less rigid than ours towards notation. Nothing in his writing suggests the idea that overdotting was mandatory, or a stylistic demand of certain musical forms like the French overture; nothing suggests the notion of the 'jerky style'. The important issue, therefore, is that Bach has not confirmed Quantz, and the mutual agreement of these authors is only a reality concerning the fact that in certain circumstances the dot is lengthened, and perhaps in others, synchronized. This is not at all sufficient evidence to support 'the style', which in the end finds its only endorsement in the testimony of Quantz.

In spite of their limited accord, these two authors are, nevertheless, considered the principal source of the 'French style'. The question of their authority on French practice from Lully to Rameau, the peak period for French overtures and suites, is then of primary importance. One has an obligation to question the credentials of these two authors, their sphere of influence, and the period for which their jurisdiction extends.

Let us first observe that both were Germans who wrote after 1750, and that their treatises were re-edited towards the end of the century; that of Quantz after his death, without alteration in 1780 and 1789, while Bach prepared the third enlarged edition himself in 1787, from which some of the above-mentioned additions were taken. The possible conclusion would seem to be that these two authors, *in as much as they are in agreement*, could reflect certain German practices between 1750-1790, and of the galant style that both represented.

As for the agreement—or disagreement—between the two, their divergences are not limited to those which were already noticed on the subject of dotted notes. In addition, numerous cases can be found where they contradict each other completely, notably in the area of ornaments. These contradictions are even more significant if we take into account that both were employed at the same time by the King of Prussia, Frederick II, and belonged to the same musical establishment. If, in spite of their daily collaboration for the royal music each evening, there was discord between the aesthetic of J. S. Bach and C. P. E. Bach clusion that neither can claim to reflect unquestionably the practices of the very place and epoch where they worked.[17] However, we are asked to accept their authority without further corroboration, not only for the contemporary practices of all Germany and France, but also for those of three or four previous generations: for the music of J. S. Bach, Handel, Rameau, Couperin and Lully, and all of their contemporaries. By what right? By none other than the fact that their ideas were printed in an old treatise, and treatises are venerated as sources of the last word.

But let us not reject their testimony before examining it more. It is self-evident that both authors were writing about their epoch and their performance practices; an historical interest was foreign to the century. C. P. E. Bach does not mention French music

or French practices. Quantz, when he speaks of French dance music, does not say, as he specifies in other places, that it is the way the French perform it; it is therefore probable that his remarks only reflect his personal taste. But in order to strengthen the argument, let us admit the possibility that the ideas of Quantz were shared by some French interpreters of his generation. What right do we have to confer on these precepts a kind of retroactivity to include J. S. Bach and Lully? Barring other evidence—and it is always necessary to add this proviso—it would only be under the following conditions that a French-German retroactivity could even be a debatable idea: (1) that there was an international style and convention, (2) that this style and this convention would have remained static from 1660-1790. It is enough to state these conditions to realize their absurdity. How can we suppose a unified international convention existed, if, as we have seen, there was not even a unified convention at the court of Frederick II?

As to the second condition, the static state, such a thing never existed in the realm of Western art. If one merely thinks of the profound change that took place between the aesthetic of J. S. Bach and C. P. E. Bach (between father and son-student), then the thought of a static set of performance conventions crossing national boundaries and embracing five generations from Lully to Mozart becomes an untenable one. The intervening changes between J. S. Bach and the new galant style, moreover, had some important implications for our question of the dotted note.

The new style in Germany had abandoned the complexity of polyphony for a less sophisticated musical style which was based, above all, on the charm of simple melodies. In this kind of music, marked changes of rhythm were not only possible but often desirable in order to ornament and compensate a little for the lean musical substance. By contrast, in music that is essentially polyphonic, particularly the music of J. S. Bach, a marked change from the notated rhythm would not fail, in most cases, to distort the rapport of the voices and falsify the counterpoint. We recall that C. P. E. Bach refers twice to this important fact.

Therefore, what is desirable for the music of Quantz and his contemporaries, is not appropriate for the music of J. S. Bach, nor for the overtures, chaconnes, etc., of Lully or Rameau. There are good reasons to suppose that marked overdotting was a new fashion, one of the manneristic exaggerations which often characterize the terminal phase of a development. Moreover, it is possible that the origin of Quantz's version was more Prussian than French, and that the new Frederician climate of strict regimentation in Berlin had transformed French flexibility into Prussian rigidity, the dance style into a military march style.

The objection could be made that even if the testimony of the authors were judged inapplicable, it does not prove the non-existence of the alleged convention. However, if the convention did exist, it should be possible to find some traces of it either in treatises or in the music itself.

We are not lacking a trail of investigation regarding the treatises. Dolmetsch followed it first, but in vain. Others after him have not had much more success. We have found nothing in German treatises prior to Quantz, nor in French treatises, even from the second half of the century. As for the latter, their silence contrasts dramatically with the eloquence of about forty others on the subject of *notes inégales*. If the convention known as the 'French style' existed, then such a silence would be all the more striking, since each treatise deals with the dot and gives the exact rule for it. Is it not astonishing that none of the authors, in connection with this rule, thought to mention some obvious exceptions to it? The silence could not be more remarkable than in a publication by Lully's student G. Muffat, in which he intended to initiate his German compatriots into the style of his master.[18] Being, as he himself asserts, the first to undertake such a task, he takes great pains in a long quadralingual foreword not to omit any details. The music contained in this publication is full of dotted notes, and though he discusses in great detail the bow-strokes that are strongly affected by the 'style', he does not mention the latter with a single word.

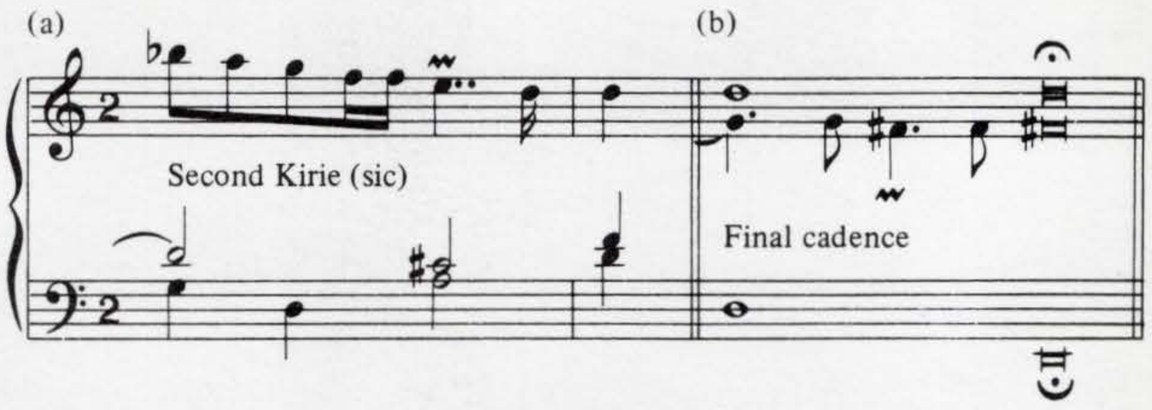
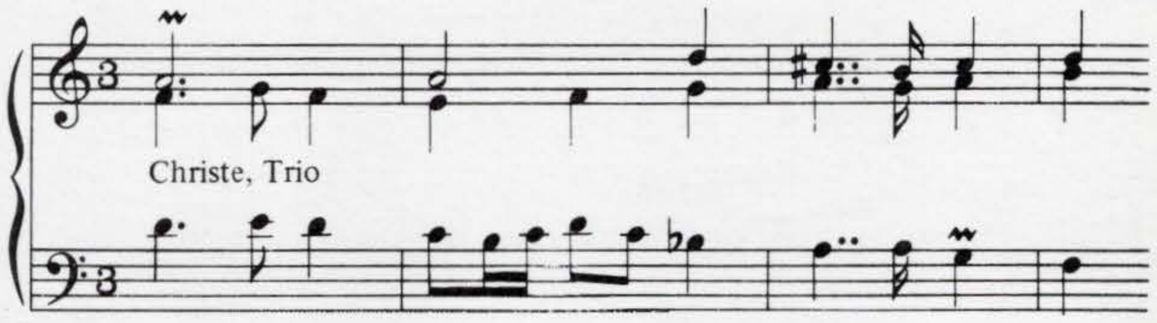
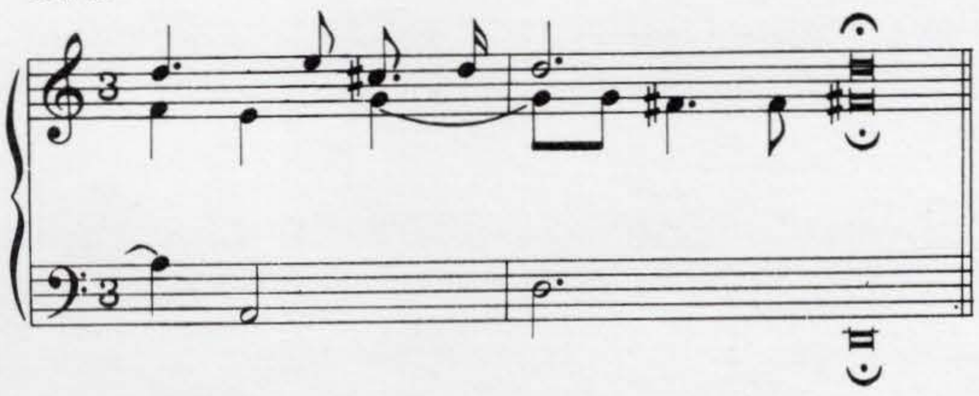
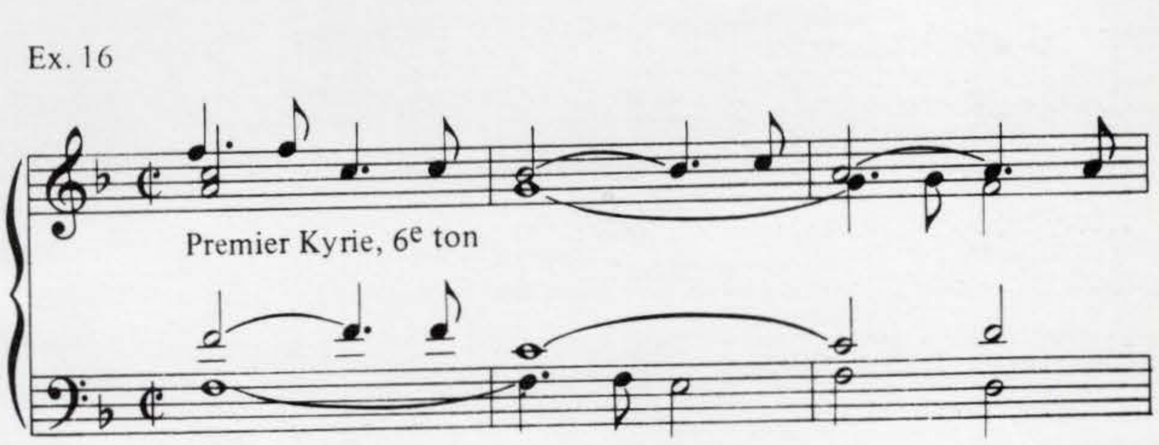
Would it not be asking too much of our reasoning powers to insist that they accept such a collective silence as the result of pure chance—a generalized amnesia lasting for more than a century? Or quite simply, are we to assume that the 'style' did not actually exist? This is the fundamental question. Since the treatises offer no help, other sources must be investigated in the hope of shedding light on the problem. It is said that there is no smoke without fire. Since there is plenty of smoke about the French style, perhaps it would be possible to find the fire by other means. In order to find it, I shall attempt to explore three new lines of approach; first, the music itself, from the point of view of the notation and musical logic; second, what Pincherle calls the 'rights of the interpreter', and third, the convention of *notes inégales*.

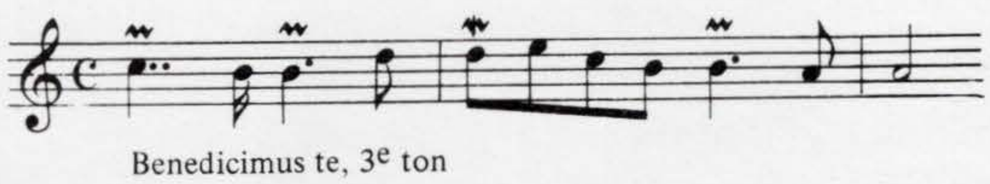
Before embarking upon this analysis, let us

remember that there are two aspects of the style: one is overdotting, and the other synchronization. Any proof against one or the other must seriously compromise the theory.

First, concerning notation, an erroneous notion about the use of the double dot must be dispelled. It was not invented by Quantz or any of his contemporaries, as is generally supposed. It was known in France in the second half of the 17th century. Chambonnières and Louis Couperin used it from time to time, and André Raison used it regularly. It is true that Lully did not use it, and that after him the double dot seems to have disappeared during the first half of the 18th century. Nevertheless I have found some additional examples from this period in the music of Clérambault and Michel Corrette. Since the convention, according to Thurston Dart, dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century, it will be interesting to see what kind of information can be deduced from the notation.

André Raison is probably the better witness because he uses the double dot so systematically, notating the dotted rhythm so precisely in each case, that his intention cannot be misinterpreted. Therefore, the conclusion is justified that the absence of a second dot must be interpreted literally. The following examples are all extracts from the original edition of André Raison's *Livre d'Orgue*, published in Paris in 1688. In example 13, from the second Kyrie (p. 2), double dots such as those at (a) are replaced at the end by single dots at (b). This last measure, therefore, must be played with broadness and solemnity, and without double dotting. In example 14, from Christe (p. 4), the double dots in the third measure place the single dots of the first in relief; hence an effect full of the charm of rhythmic variety, which would be obliterated by double dotting in the first measure. Example 15 of the same piece is most interesting, because the exact value of the dot after the first note is confirmed in the rhythmic imitation of the second voice, written as a quarter-note tied to an eighth without a dot. Example 16 (first Kyrie on the sixth tone, p. 20) is in the form of an overture, and the absence of double dots here demonstrates that double dotting was not characteristic of this style. Example 17 (*Benedicimus te*, p. 54) presents another case of rhythmic variety. The next example from the same piece (ex. 18) is of very special interest: the absence of a double dot in the lower voice, and the position of the eighth-note exactly below the dot in the upper voice, proves that synchronization in the 'French style' was not desired, but

Ex. 13 André Raison

Ex. 14

Ex. 15

Ex. 16

Ex. 17

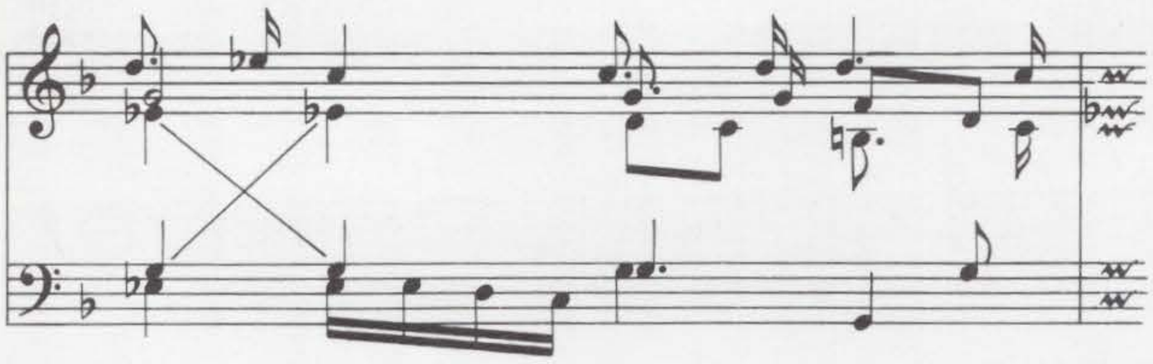
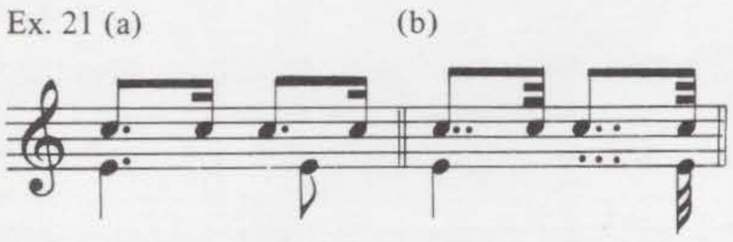
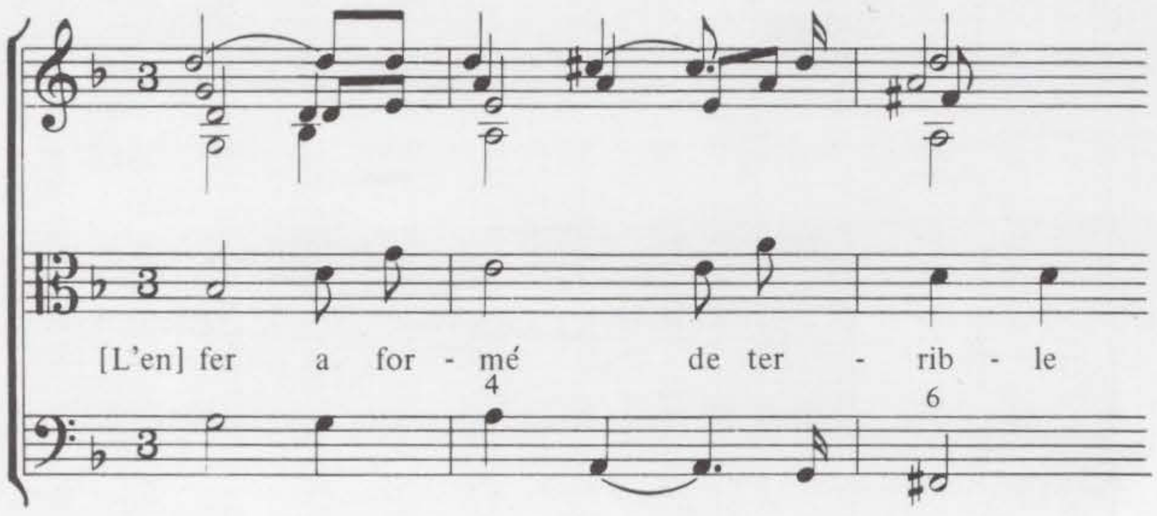


Ex. 18

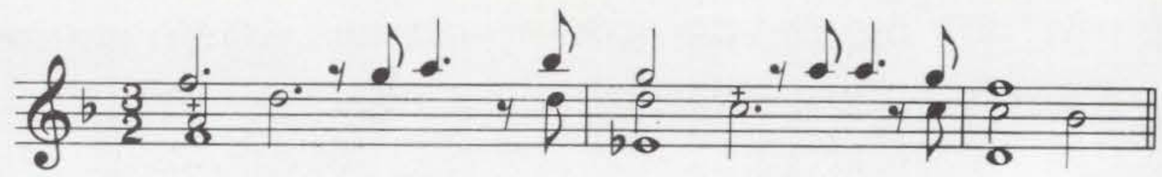
rather an enrichment of the structure by what might be called 'rhythmic counterpoint'. The book is full of many different examples such as these.

An advocate of the 'style' might say: Raison has shown us that doubly-dotted rhythms were certainly in vogue; consequently since Lully and his successors did not make use of the double dot, we can conclude that a great many of their single dots ought to be inter-

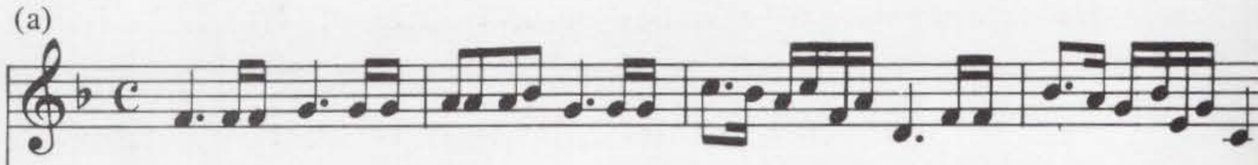
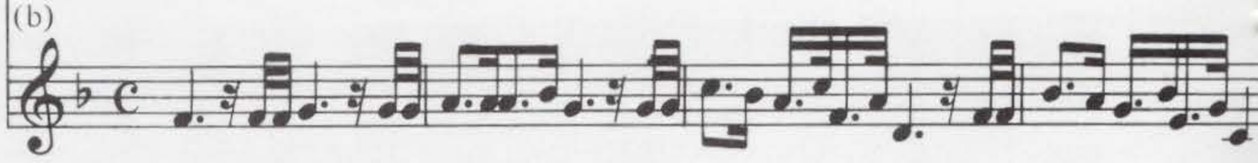
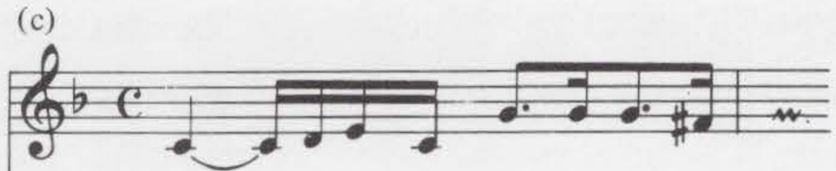
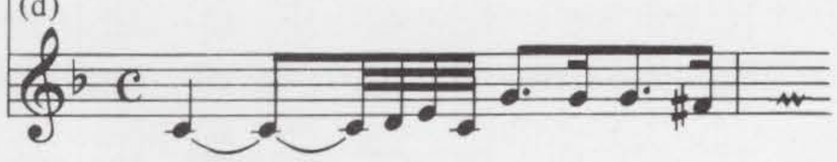
Ex. 19 Lully, *Amadis*

Ex. 20

Ex. 21 (a) (b)

Ex. 22 *Amadis* Act II, last scene

preted as double ones. Such an argument is not convincing. Lully and the masters who succeeded him, among them Couperin and Rameau, certainly knew how to use the tied-over note or the rest to express double dotting, and they did use them often.

If, as in the overture to *Amadis*, Lully writes a tied-over note in the third measure that is equivalent to a double dot (ex. 19), it follows that the dotted notes in the first two measures were not intended to be doubly dotted. Several measures later, example 20 demonstrates that synchronization in the third and fourth quarters could not have been the intention of the composer, that the 'jerky' style had no place there, and finally, that the intended aim was precisely a conflict of rhythm, a 'rhythmic counterpoint' which would augment the richness and interest of the structure, and allow the independent voices of the polyphonic writing to stand out. Many examples of this kind by all composers in this period, German as well as French,

Ex. 23 *Le mariage force*

Ex. 24 *Les Amants magnifiques*

Ex. 25 *Amadis* II. ii

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

indicate that it was a rhythmic conflict (ex. 21a) and not a jerky synchronization (ex. 21b) that was characteristic of the style. A confirmation quite capable of proving this idea is furnished in the second measure of example 22 (*Amadis*, second act, last scene), where the notational differences of the first violins and bass on one side, and the second violins and voice part on the other, leave no doubt about the intention of rhythmic conflict. In cases where Lully wanted synchronization, he specified it, as in example 23 (ritornello, *Le Mariage forcé*) and in example 24 (overture from *Les Amants magnifiques*). Couperin, Rameau, Handel, Telemann, and Bach did the same.

It is interesting and revealing to examine the scores of Lully that were used for performances during the 18th century, because they contain modifications and alterations which reflect a change of taste. There is a copy of the opera *Amadis*, preserved in the library of the Paris Opera, which was used in the first half of the 18th century.[19] Among other things we find the changes shown in example 25 (referring to III.ii), where the passage shown at line (a) is changed to that of (b), and line (c) to that of (d); exactly the kind of change required by the 'style'. Also found there is the following interesting directive of the editor, addressed,

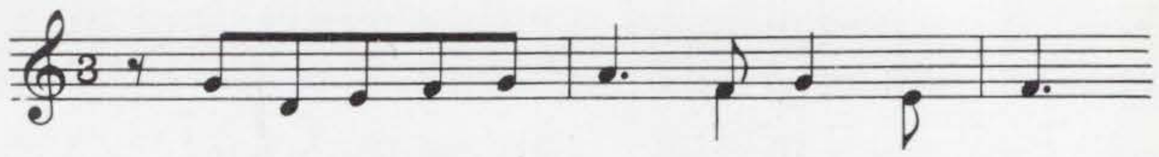
it would appear, to the copyist: 'Revise the inside voices for change of metre and note values.' (The score was a condensed version containing only the outer voices.) The changes reveal first of all that the reviser felt the need in this particular scene of a bit more rhythmic seasoning. But, even more important, they reveal that *a convention did not exist that demanded such a doubly-dotted execution without exact indication in the notation.*[20] If such a convention had existed in the first half of the 18th century, the changes in the outer voices and the remark about the necessity of changing the inner voices would have been superfluous. Further, it is interesting that such a change is found only in this scene in the midst of the opera, and that similar rhythms everywhere else have remained in their original form.[21]

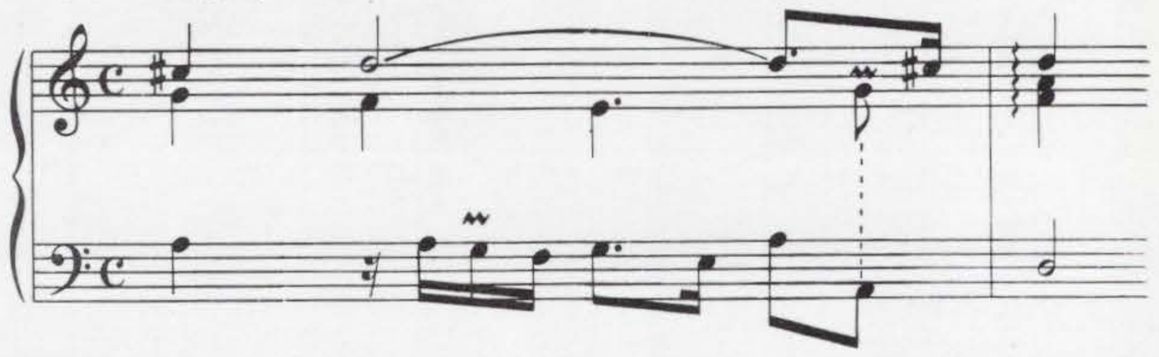
In a Sarabande by Louis Couperin (ex. 26) the second voice, with its quarter and eighth-note, is only intelligible if the eighth after the dot enters exactly in rhythm.[22] In example 27 by Le Bègue, synchronization of the two upper voices is possible. However, the bass with its two equal eighth-notes (in C time eighth-notes are equal) provides the rhythmic conflict which, in its turn, confirms that of the middle voice.

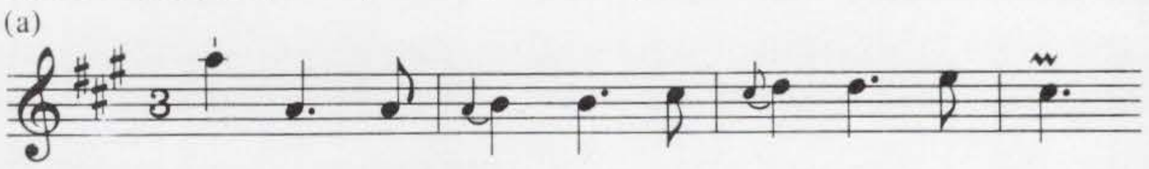
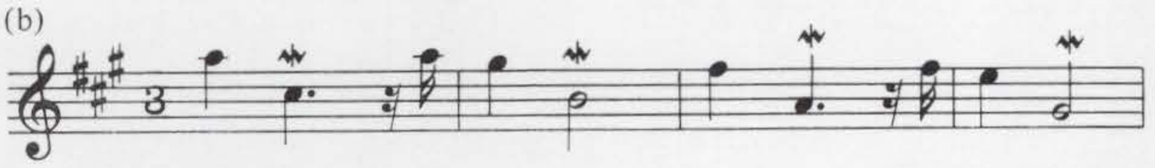
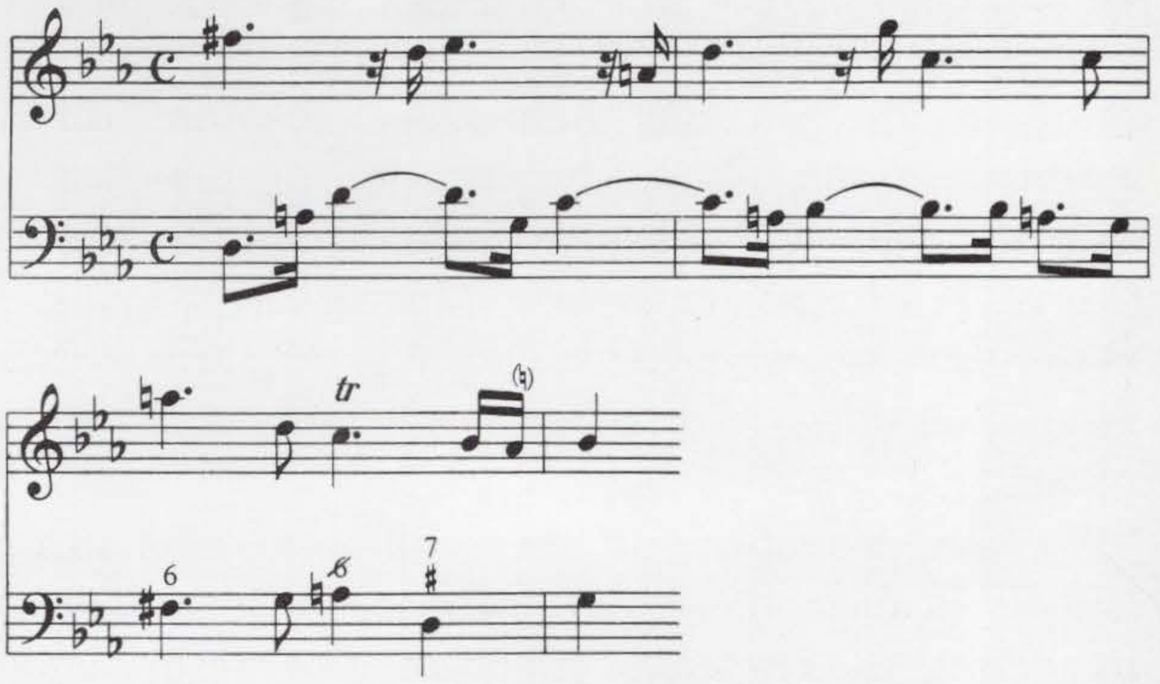
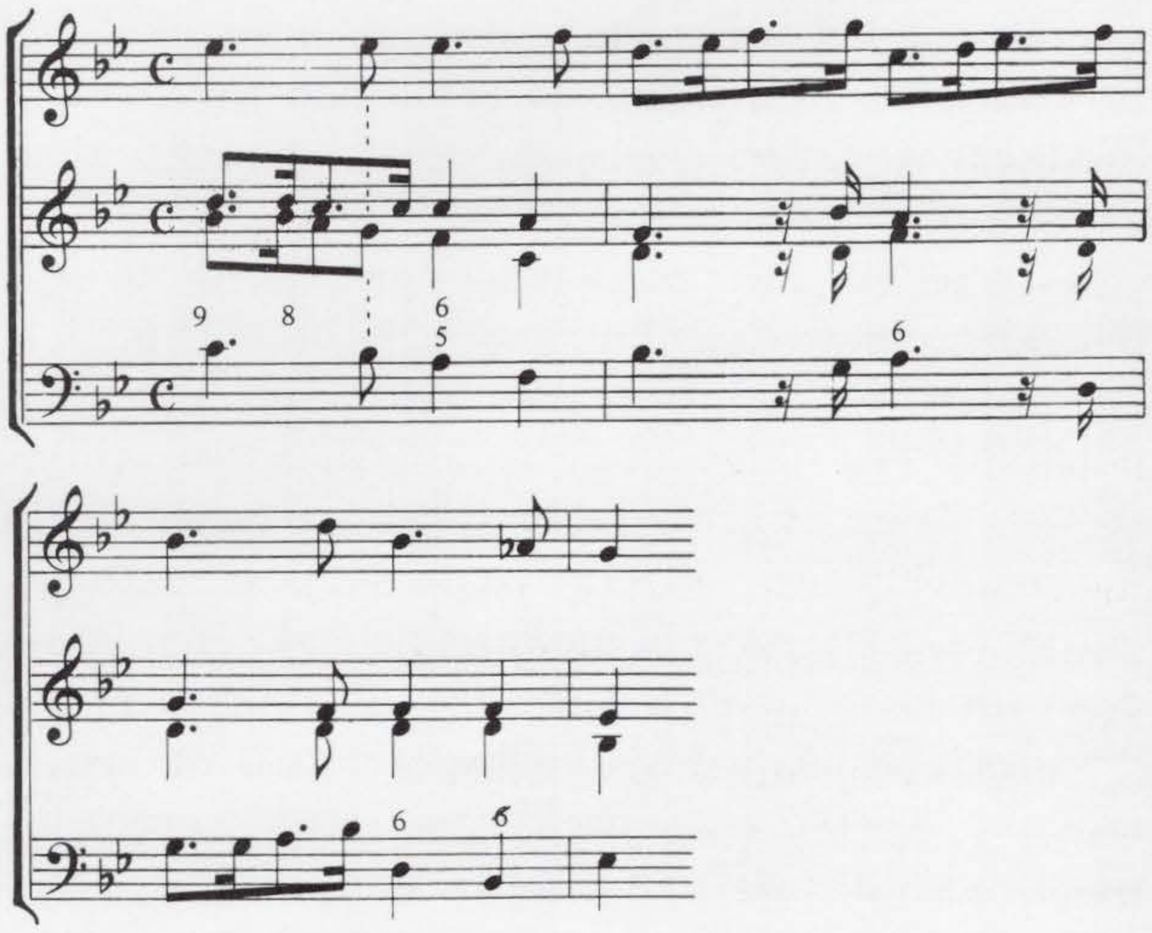
There is an example from the 18th century by François Couperin (the passacaille *L'Amphibie* from the 24th Ordre of the *Pièces de Clavecin*) in which a theme with a rhythm of singly dotted notes (ex. 28a) is found doubly dotted in the second variation (ex. 28b). This proves that contrast was a deliberate choice; consequently, the theme should not be played according to the 'French style'.

Some examples by foreign masters who adopted French forms will now be examined. Handel is in the first rank of composers whose works, particularly his overtures, have been claimed by the 'jerky style'. In the overture to *Bérénice* (ex. 29) we see how Handel introduced the same variety of dotted rhythms, alternating what could be called 'dull' with 'sharpened' rhythms. Notice, particularly in the upper voice, the transition from one pattern to the other in the second half of the second measure. In the overture to *Xerxes* (ex. 30) a rhythmic conflict in the first measure caused by the eighth-note E flat in the first violins (and by the eighth-note in the bass) against the sixteenth-note C in the second violins is corroborated by the two equal eighth-notes A-G in the viola. In the second bar, a clearly doubly-dotted synchronization is specified by the notation. This gives way in the third bar to a new broadening of the rhythm with a rhythmic conflict against the bass; a captivating variety whose arbitrary

Ex. 26 L. Couperin *Sarabande*



Ex. 27 Le Bègue, *Allemande*

Ex. 28 F. Couperin, *L'Amphibie* (Passacaille)

(a)

(b)

Ex. 29 Händel, Overture to *Berenice*

Ex. 30 Overture to *Xerxes*

levelling by the 'French style' would cause a deplorable impoverishment. A similar alternation of both rhythmic types occurs in an anonymous overture (ex. 31) from an important manuscript known as the *Möllersche Handschrift*; it originates from J. S. Bach's circle.[23]

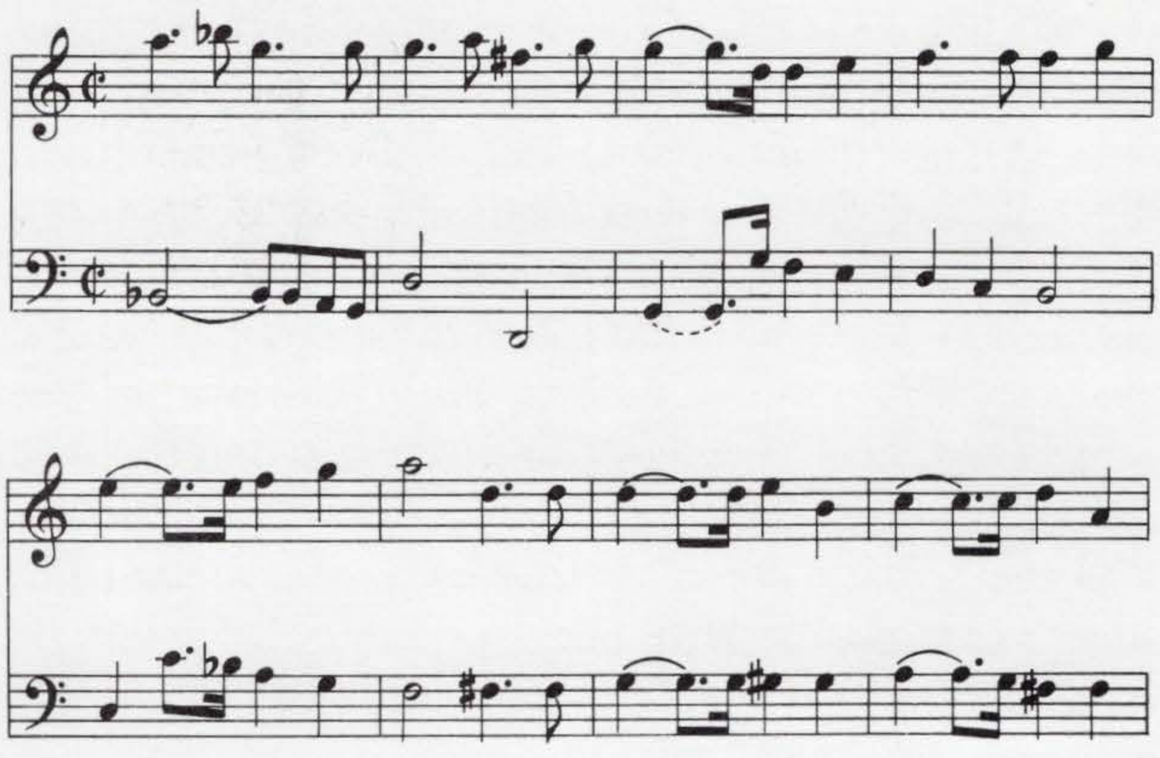
These illustrations, and a great number of similar examples that could be cited, seem to confirm the supposition that the 'French style' did not exist in the form stated by its advocates.

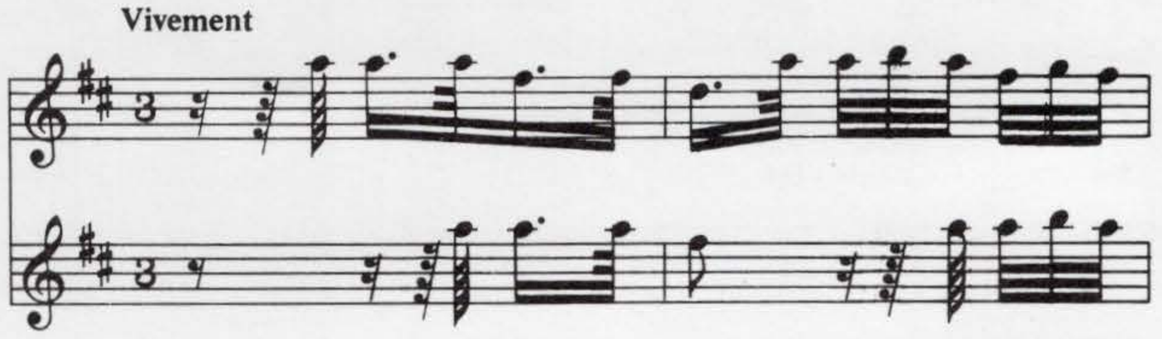
Concerning the evidence that the music itself can furnish, attention must again be called to an argument of Donington on the subject of an unusual notation used by Couperin. As proof of double dotting Donington cites the sixth movement of *L'Apothéose de Corelli* (ex. 33), where Couperin is supposed to have used the dot to represent a double dot.[24] It is improbable, if not impossible, for the dots in this example to be equivalent to double dots because: (1) in the rapid tempo demanded by the word 'vivement', double dots would be absolutely unplayable; (2) in a context of triplets it is more natural, in a fast tempo, for short notes to be infected by the triplets; one can see this especially in the unison entrance of the second voice in the second measure—a formula often repeated in this piece—the sixty-fourth-note enters naturally with the thirty-second-note of the triplet figure; (3) the rests are written in such a way that, if the sixty-fourth-notes were true sixty-fourths, there would be another thirty-second-note rest missing before each of them.

We can probably find the solution to this small mystery in Gigault, who also uses a similar notation. In advising the readers of his book of organ music he says: '. . . eighth-notes that are barred several times need not frighten one, since they ought to be considered as if they were merely sixteenth-notes.'[25]

Perhaps it is from Gigault that Couperin adopted this notational caprice which he uses from time to time in many of his compositions.

It is true that this notation does give the impression of a doubly-dotted rhythm, but on the other hand, it is not solely with dotted notes that we find such notational deviations. In the Sarabande *L'Unique* from the 8th Ordre of his clavecin pieces, Couperin writes the following (ex. 34). One could suppose, perhaps, that it was a question of indicating *inégalité*. But, aside from the fact that such a rhythmic formula does not lend itself to inequality, this hypothesis is refuted in example 35 (*Pièces de violes*, 1st suite, Passacaille) where, for a similar formula, Couperin specifies:

Ex. 31 *Möllersche Handschrift*, anonymous overture

Ex. 32 Boyvin, Trio

Ex. 33 F. Couperin, *L'Apothéose de Corelli.*

Ex. 34 Sarabande *L'Unique*

Ex. 35 Passacaille (Pièces de violes)

'Notes égales'. Therefore the fourth beam has no musical meaning.

One might think this was nothing more than a caprice. Although possible, it is not a very satisfactory explanation.

Perhaps a solution of a psychological nature can be found. As every pedagogue knows, a dotted rhythm is difficult to execute, and there is always a tendency of

not holding the dot long enough, which makes it sound like a triplet. The same can be said for the rhythm of a sixteenth followed by two thirty-second-notes: there is a tendency to play the sixteenth too quickly and the thirty-seconds too sluggishly. It is possible that similar experiences with his students induced Couperin to use notational exaggerations, such as an excessive number of beams, simply for their suggestive force (their shock value as one might say in America), in order to persuade performers at first sight not to yield to natural inertia, and to play the notes in a well-defined rhythm.

Whatever the explanation, it is difficult to see how this little eccentricity could confirm the 'style', since it has been demonstrated that a doubly-dotted interpretation was impossible in certain cases, very doubtful in others, and that often there was no dot at all present in the notation.

Still remaining for consideration is an examination of two other approaches: the 'rights of the performer', and the ramifications of *notes inégales*.

The rights of the performer have been incidentally mentioned earlier in the discussion, but it is necessary to return briefly to the subject. It must first be recognized that one of the greatest sources of misunderstanding and erroneous notions about historical interpretation is the fact that we are too inclined to project the principles, ideas, and demands of today's performances into the past. For example, in our day the musical education of a performer insists on technical virtuosity and mathematical exactness of rhythm—points of view which were far removed from the concerns of the 17th and 18th centuries. Our orchestras are machines of precision, and if one did not play a dotted note in the exact ratio of 3:1, or a doubly-dotted note in that of 7:1, it would be tantamount to a crime in the eyes of our dictator-conductors. This mentality gave birth to the idea that a deviation from the mathematical values of dotted rhythms in old music was only possible if it was specifically required by a convention. However, all that actually existed as a 'convention' was a greater degree of adaptability in the interpretation of the musical text, and this adaptability implied a flexibility towards the relative value of the notes. Above all it was the privilege of the soloist to determine whether or not the character of the piece or passage demanded a certain 'softening' or 'sharpening' of the rhythm. He had to adjust the interpretation of the dot to a given situation, that was all; this includes the question of triplets combined with dotted notes, and that of synchronization. The first of these questions recently gave rise to a heated controversy in German periodicals, where each party claimed a definitive convention: one supported the solution of C. P. E. Bach, to shorten the value of the dot to that of a triplet (see note 15); in opposition, the other supported the rule of Quantz which demands a distinct prolongation. Both parties were wrong, because here also there was no definitive convention that demanded one solution more than the other. It was simply a question for the performer to choose which he judged the most musical solution, and the most natural in a particular situation. Therefore, the intelligent performer sometimes chose one, and sometimes the other.

The same thing can be said for the synchronization of various kinds of short notes that follow dotted ones. It was undoubtedly practised from time to time when the logic of the situation appeared to demand it, even before the period of the galant style. For example, Gigault tells us that: 'In order to animate one's playing, some dots can also be added, more or less where one wishes. Where there is a sixteenth-note above an eighth, they are played simultaneously.'[26] However, this situation, apparently, does not present itself in his book of organ music. But in a passage such as that of Boyvin's (ex. 32), which is concerned with strictly parallel voices, i.e. homophonic writing, a 'rhythmic counterpoint' would not be appropriate, and for this reason synchronization was the natural solution. Therefore, some deviation from the mathematical value was practised long before Quantz, and the choice was determined by the performer as one of his 'rights', but the idea of a convention that *demanded* these kinds of specific deviations is a misconception. It is important to stress that there is a profound and categorical difference between the freedom to lengthen, shorten, or synchronize *according to musical taste*, and a so-called law that would force us to do one or the other. The first partakes of freedom, the second of tyranny.

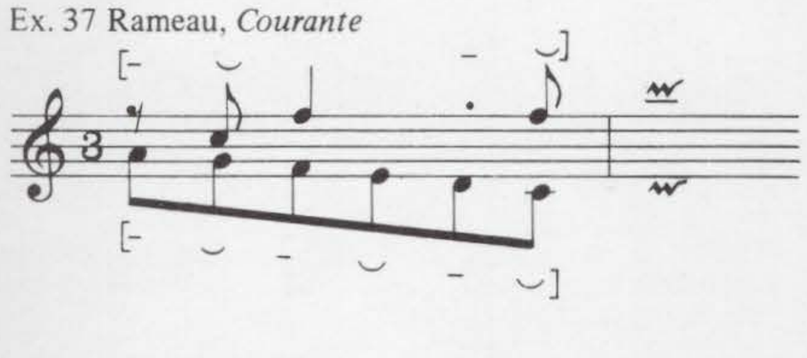
Aside from individual freedom, there are some cases where prolongation of the dot was actually based on a real and firmly established convention: that of *notes inégales*. One French quotation on this subject by Hotteterre tells us that: 'Sometimes dots are placed after notes which lengthen them by half of their value. . . . In movements where eighth-notes are unequal, a dot following a quarter-note is equivalent to a dotted eighth; hence the eighth-note which follows a dotted quarter is always short.'[27] At first glance one might believe this to be a confirmation of Quantz and the

Handel's Overture to Orlando, *autograph, British Library. Note the double-dotting of the quavers by explicit and consistent insertion of rests except for the last two bars with their natural cadential broadening*

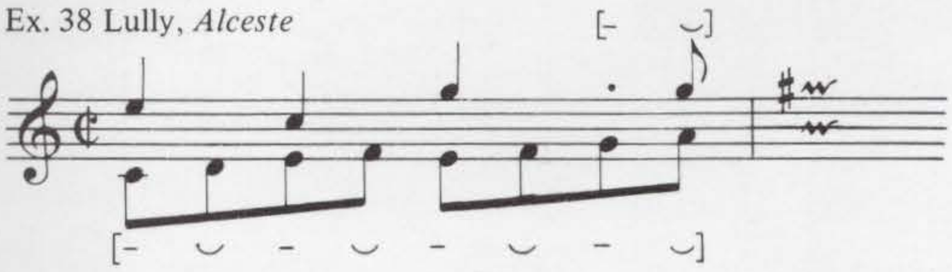
Handel's Overture to Rinaldo, *autograph. British Library. Note in bars 4-6 the tell-tale inalterable lack of rhythmic sharpness. With three brief and precisely spelled-out exceptions this informs the whole introduction (to be played as written, but at a faster pace than usually taken).*

Ex. 36 Gavotte

Ex. 37 Rameau, *Courante*



Ex. 38 Lully, *Alceste*



'jerky style'. However, after a second look this idea can be rejected.

The *inégalité* of eighth- and sixteenth-notes occurs only in certain metres, and then in principle only when there is a series of eighths in pairs which proceed essentially in conjunct motion. A series of dotted quarters followed by eighths, a rhythmic model for many overtures, does not lend itself in principle to *inégalité*. The situation to which Hotteterre refers (where the dot takes the place of the first long eighth, causing the eighth that follows it to be short) could happen only under two circumstances: (1) when more or less isolated dotted quarter-notes are, in a manner of speaking, linked to a series of continuous eighths (ex. 36), and (2) when there is a succession of unequal eighths in one voice and dotted-quarters in another (examples 37 and 38). In this situation a harpsichordist would certainly, and an orchestra probably, prolong the dot in order to adapt naturally and spontaneously to the unequal subdivision of the beats.

In order to obtain a perspective on the scope and importance of this principle of Hotteterre's as compared to the 'French style' and the 'jerky style', we must realize that, (1) the cases where it can be applied are not frequent, and (2) *inégalité* is nearly always subtle, often almost imperceptible, and very rarely attains the 3:1 ratio of an actual dotted note. Therefore, even in cases where the *inégalité* of eighth-notes involves a prolongation of dots, the prolongation could not reach the extremes claimed by the 'style' or by Quantz, and could approach them only very rarely. The difference here is not only of degree, but of principle.

In summarizing the arguments of this study, it can be said that the lack of French sources to corroborate Quantz suggests that a pronounced and obligatory style of overdotting did not exist. This supposition is verified by the evidence drawn from the music itself, and in many cases the evidence shows that the application of the alleged rules was impossible, illogical, or clearly refuted by the notation. Moreover, it has been pointed out that individual freedom permitting some flexible manipulation of the dot, balancing a little from one side to the other, was a different thing in principle from a convention which would have demanded a decisive prolongation. Likewise, it has been shown that an occasional prolongation of the dot within the framework of inequality cannot offer the missing proof for what Quantz wrote about French dance music, nor can it give his remarks a retroactive validity. As for Quantz—and the concern is almost exclusively with him—it may be that his instructions concerning French music are only an expression of his personal taste. Perhaps they reflect a new German fashion of the mid-eighteenth century, a fashion where French flexibility, emanating from *notes inégales* and the freedom of the soloist, was exaggerated by imitators and transformed into rigid mannerisms.

Indeed, for the period from Lully to Rameau, the so-called French style is essentially a legend, and its first formulation by Dolmetsch is an invention which has been wrongly taken for a discovery.

When we play the overtures, sarabandes, chaconnes, etc., of Lully, Rameau, Handel and Bach, it is a mistake to deprive them of their majestic dignity in favour of the frantic style of jerks and jolts. In any case, for many listeners a prolonged series of such jerks and jolts can be rather irritating. Others might find such a style stimulating, perhaps because it reflects the nervous tensions of our age; they have the privilege of their taste, but they must cease the claim of historical authenticity.

[1] Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London, 1963), p. 375. [New Version, 1974, p. 441.]
[2] Thurston Dart, *The Interpretation of Music* (London, 1954), p. 81.
[3] Arnold Dolmetsch, *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries* (London, n.d. [1915]), p. 63.[4] Geoffroy-Dechaume, *Les "Secrets" de la Musique Ancienne . . .* (Paris, 1964), pp. 37 ff.
[5] Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen . . .* (Berlin, 1752). The second and third editions (Breslau 1780 and 1789), except for a few modernizations of spelling, are identical with the first.
[6] Quantz does the same in a passage (XVII, 11, §10) where he limits this type of shortening expressly for thirty-second notes.

[7] op cit, p. 53.
[8] C. P. E. Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, First part (Berlin, 1753); 2nd edition, unchanged (1759); 3rd edition enlarged (Leipzig, 1787). Second part (Berlin, 1762); 2nd edition enlarged (Leipzig, 1797).
[9] op cit, p. 59.
[10] op cit, p. 37.
[11] The correct meaning of these terms, which are of very common usage in German treatises, is made clear by Bach in chap. 11, §67. If the dot meant prolongation, it would follow the long note, and not the short. The word for an additional flag would have been either *geschwänzt* or *Balken*.
[12] We are then faced with another snare to avoid regarding the interpretation of the treatises, namely erroneous translations. The version of this passage by Dolmetsch, for example, is less translation than fantasy on a theme, since under the pretence of direct quotation he inserts entire sentences which are not found in any of the three original editions.
[13] It is not a question, as Geoffroy-Dechaume indicates in his translation of this sentence (op cit p. 38), of inserting a rest in place of the dot: 'what the notation demands' refers to the rhythmic relationship, and not, especially in the period in question, to articulation.
[14] The translation of Donington is imprecise, and results in a contrary interpretation: 'when four or more short notes follow a dot, they are rapidly disposed of, being so numerous'. It is the expression 'kurz genug' that gives us the key for the correct interpretation of this sentence.
[15] Another question on the subject of dotted notes on which the two authors contradict each other, concerns the combination of triplets with dotted notes in duple or common time. According to Bach the dot is shortened in order to obtain sychronization of the short note with the third triplet; according to Quantz the dot is lengthened to stress the non-synchronization.
[16] Part II (Berlin, 1762), Chapter 29, (15). Italics mine—F.N.
[17] More probably there were, strictly speaking, no unified practices either in Berlin or elsewhere, but a variety of individual practices everywhere.
[18] Georg Muffat, *Florilegium Secundum* (1698), DTÖ II, 2 (Vienna, 1895).
[19] 2nd ed. (Paris, 1721), shelfmark: Opéra A 16b.
[20] Unequal notes also have no place there: in the third measure only, where we might consider introducing them, the disjunct figure of sixteenth-notes would oppose it.
[21] Therefore we cannot explain this change as a reminder of a forgotten convention. First, because this period was scarcely concerned with forgotten conventions, and second, because such a reminder would have had its logical place at the beginning and not in the middle of the opera.
[22] French manuscript from the seventeenth century, *Pièces de Clavecin* (B.N., Rés. Vm^7 675).
[23] The manuscript belonged to the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in East Berlin, but is presently at the library Stiftung Kulturbesitz, in West Berlin-Dahlem.
[24] op cit, p. 380. [New Version, 1974, p. 446.]
[25] Gigault, *Livre de Musique pour l'Orgue* (Paris, 1685).
[26] ibid.
[27] Jacques Hotteterre, *Méthode pour la Musette* (Paris, 1738), p. 35.

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David Fuller will reply to Frederick Neumann's article in our next issue.

The Triumph of Death, *Francesco Traini (sometimes attributed to A. Orcagna)*,

In 1348 an outbreak of bubonic plague devastated Florence, as well as the rest of Italy, France and the Middle East. 'The cruelty of heaven . . . was so immense and so devastating', wrote Giovanni Boccaccio in the introduction to the *Decameron*,[1] 'that between March and July of the year in question, what with the fury of the pestilence and the fact that so many of the sick were inadequately cared for or abandoned in their hour of need because the healthy were too

Fantasia on a theme by Boccaccio

HOWARD MAYER BROWN

Camposanto, Pisa. Detail.

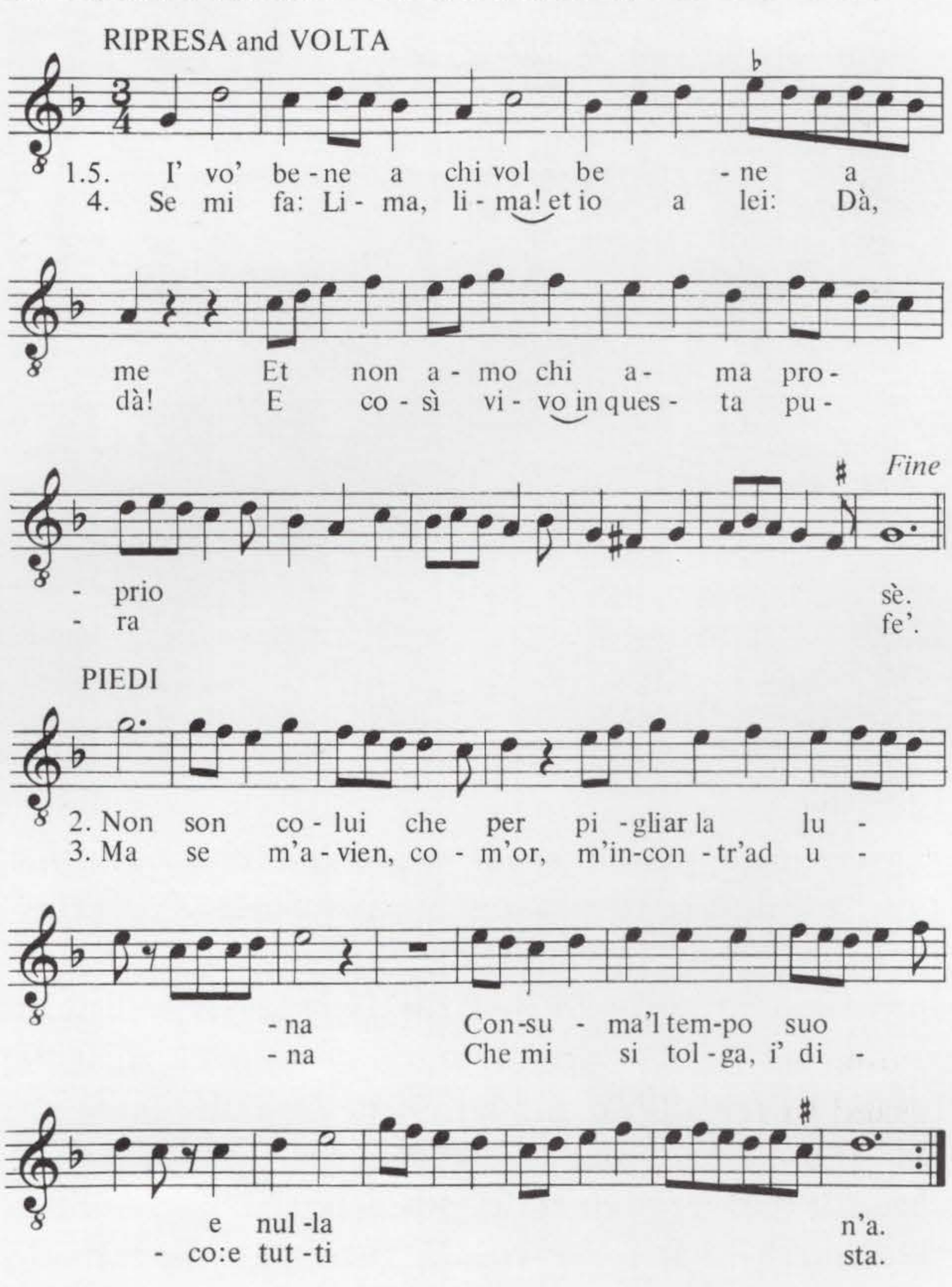
terrified to approach them, it is reliably thought that over a hundred thousand human lives were extinguished within the walls of the city of Florence.' Boccaccio went on to describe how seven well-born young ladies between the ages of 18 and 25, connected by friendship and family ties, met by chance in the church of Santa Maria Novella and convinced three of their gentlemen friends, who had also come to the church to attend divine services, that they should join together to escape the ravages of the plague by retiring to the hills above Florence where they would pass their time in simple amusements and story telling. By this literary device, Boccaccio furnished himself with a framework to present the hundred short tales that make up the *Decameron*, one by each of the ten Florentines on each of the ten days they spent moving from villa to villa in the Tuscan hills.

Quite aside from its literary distinction, the

Decameron supplies us with valuable information about the musical practices of the trecento, since the band of young Florentines began and ended each day singing songs and dancing, and some of their stories allude to music. The *Decameron*, along with other literary works that include descriptions of contemporary life, and paintings, miniatures and other pictures that show us how the world looked to 14th-century artists, are especially helpful in answering two kinds of question—how did music sound in the 14th century, and what place did it have in society—that are otherwise difficult to answer, and that need to be asked as urgently as those dealing with style, genre and compositional technique that seem to pre-occupy musicologists almost to the exclusion of everything else. Who wrote the madrigals, cacce and ballate that appear in musical manuscripts? When and where were they performed, and by and for what classes of people? What kinds of instruments did 14th-century Italian musicians play, and how regularly did they accompany singers? How do the surviving compositions relate to the entire range of musical forms, styles and genres known to trecento society? Some of these questions, of course, can never be answered satisfactorily, and certainly not when they are asked about particular compositions. But many conventions of a period can be illuminated with the help of literary and pictorial evidence. And in particular the *Decameron* reveals the state of music in Florence during the first half of the 14th century. Boccaccio's tales were probably written in the 1350s, at a time when men like Jacopo da Bologna, Giovanni da Cascia and Magister Piero, and their slightly younger contemporaries Ser Gherardello da Firenze, Donato da Firenze, Niccolò da Perugia and Lorenzo Masini, had finished most of their creative work in producing the first examples of Italian polyphony, but before the greatest of all trecento composers, the blind Florentine organist, Francesco Landini (*c* 1325-1397), had reached his full maturity.[2]

When they were not telling each other stories, Boccaccio's band of young Florentines amused themselves by taking walks, playing games, singing, and dancing. Boccaccio included the complete texts for eleven songs in the *Decameron*, one for each of the ten evenings the company gathered to sing after dinner, and one incorporated into a novella (tenth day, story 7). They are all ballate, that is, they are written in what Nino Pirrotta calls the fundamental form of the Italian lyric.[3] He points out that the Italian formal scheme should not be compared with the more rigid and circumscribed patterns of French lyrical poetry of the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. The ballata recurs in different times and places during the history of Italian poetry, and its structural outlines are so adaptable to differing styles and modes of thought that it should be considered more than merely a formal scheme. Briefly stated, the ballata consists of a refrain or ripresa of one to four poetic lines, followed by two piedi, each of two or three lines, and a volta which repeats the poetic structure of the refrain.[4] Ballate usually consist of a number of strophes and, at least theoretically, the ripresa is repeated between each of them and at the end. Composers needed only to write two sections of music, one for the ripresa and the metrically identical volta, and a second to which each of the piedi was sung, as happens, for instance, in Ser Gherardelló da Firenze's setting of a ballata by Niccolò Soldanieri, 'I'vo' bene a chi vol bene a me' (ex. 1).[5]

The poems which Boccaccio inserted into the *Decameron* are without exception ballate, but he called them by a variety of names: 'canzone', 'canzonetta', 'ballata' or 'ballatetta'. The terms evidently had both a general and a specific meaning. Boccaccio followed the

Ex. 1.
Ser Gherardello da Firenze's setting of a ballata by Niccolò Soldanieri

RIPRESA and VOLTA
1.5. I' vo' be-ne a chi vol be -ne a
4. Se mi fa: Li-ma, li-ma! et io a lei: Dà,
me Et non a-mo chi a- ma pro-
dà! E co-sì vi-vo in ques- ta pu-
Fine
-prio
-ra
sè.
fe'.
PIEDI
2. Non son co-lui che per pi-gliar la lu-
3. Ma se m'a-vien, co-m'or, m'in-con-tr'ad u-
-na Con-su-ma'l tem-po suo
-na Che mi si tol-ga, i' di-
e nul-la n'a.
-co:e tut-ti sta.

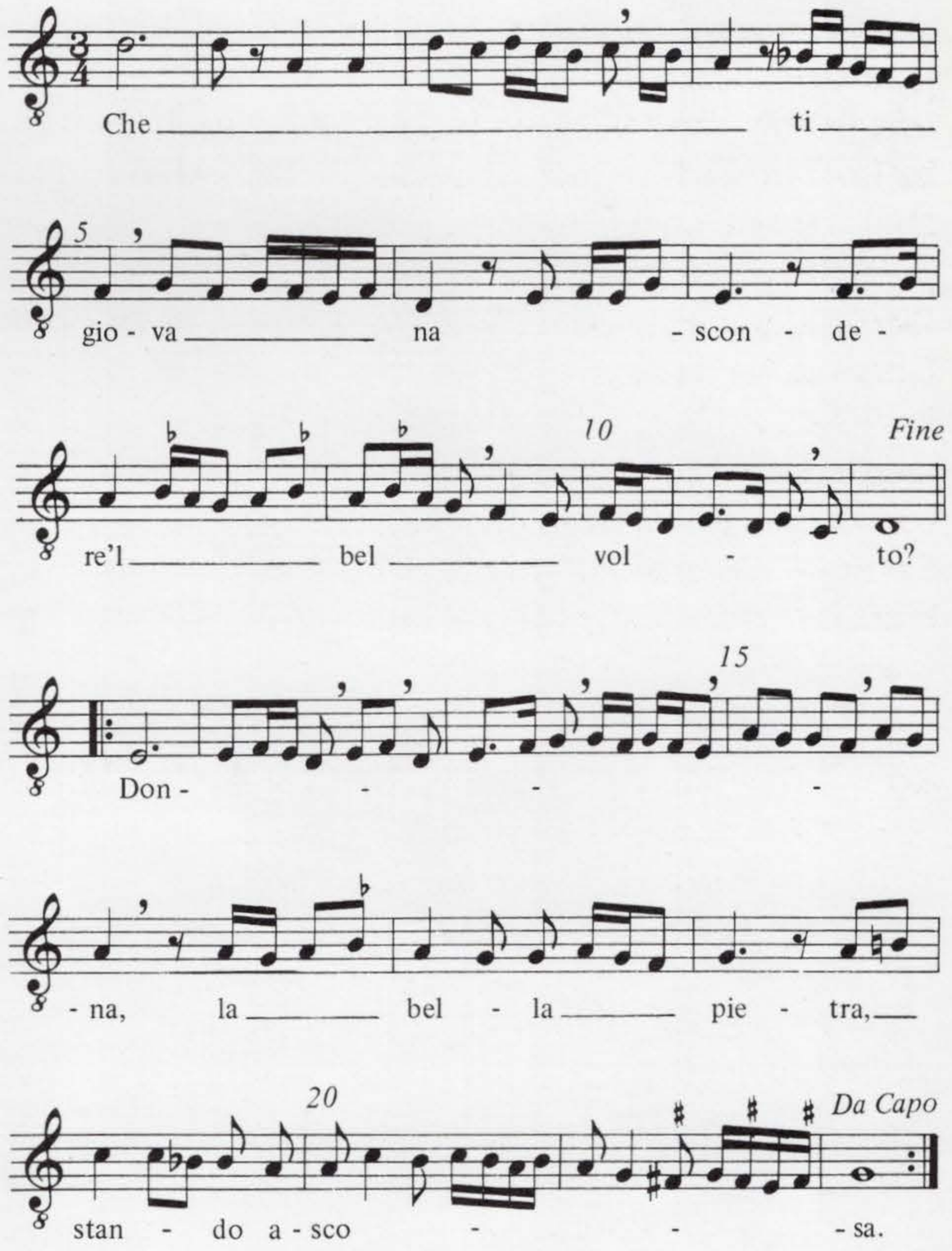
practice of some trecento literary figures in considering a 'canzone' any lyric poem meant to be sung, while a 'ballata' was a song intended to accompany dancing, even though both terms referred as well to particular poetic forms.[6] When trecento writers distinguished the music to which poems were sung they usually spoke of 'suono' or 'melodia', as when Boccaccio described two daughters of a knight who after dinner 'cominciarono a cantare un suono' in order to amuse the king, their guest (tenth day, story 6). Thus Boccaccio was consistent in calling a poem in ballata form which his band of ladies and gentlemen sang but did not dance to, a 'canzone' rather than a 'ballata', and the anonymous author of a 14th-century treatise even called such poems 'soni' or 'sonetti' to distinguish them from dance songs.[7]

The same anonymous Italian described the 'sonetto'—that is, a song and not a dance in ballata form—as a monophonic melody to which words have been adapted, and he made clear by implication that for him ballate were sung, or danced and sung, to single-line melodies, while madrigals and cacce were always set to polyphony. Boccaccio did not contradict the author of the poetic treatise. The ballate performed at the end of seven of the ten evenings that make up the *Decameron* were sung by a single person, while the rest of the company either listened or danced. On the first three evenings one person sang, but the others joined in from time to time, presumably for the refrains. And on the first evening one of the gentlemen, Dioneo, accompanied on his lute the lady who sang.

Thus the *Decameron* would seem to suggest that monophonic ballate were far and away the principal—indeed, the only—poetic form set to music and performed by and for the upper classes in the first half of the 14th century. The *Decameron*, in fact, furnishes the best evidence for this hypothesis, especially since it gives so unambiguously the social milieu in which monophonic ballate were sung.

This state of affairs is all the more interesting because it conflicts so obviously with the evidence provided by the musical sources. Of the 176 compositions included in the first four volumes of Nino Pirrotta's edition of the music of 14th-century Italy—the volumes that contain music by the first generation of Italian polyphonists—134 are madrigals or cacce, seven are two-part ballate, almost certainly written after mid-century and probably after 1365, eleven are miscellaneous pieces (mass-settings, a two-part lauda, two political motets, and two settings of French lyrics), and only fifteen are monophonic ballate. In other words, the surviving sources of trecento music reflect very badly the true situation in the first years of the century. Most of the music sung and played in polite society was either never written down, or else it has been lost.[8]

Not enough monophonic ballate survive to allow us to know very positively either how they changed and developed over the half-century, or how the sixteen that do appear in the sources relate to the tradition revealed in the *Decameron*. Five of the sixteen appear in the earliest manuscript containing trecento music, Vatican, Biblioteca Ap. Vat., Codex Rossi 215, an anthology thought to reflect the musical tastes during the 1330s and '40s of that erudite and music-loving prince, Alberto della Scala, who was associated with his elder brother Mastino in ruling Padua and Verona.[9] The monophonic ballate in the Rossi Codex include relatively simple settings of short poems with one-line refrains and one-line piedi, such as 'Che ti zova nascondere' in a jaunty triple metre that our anonymous literary theorist said was a requisite for a dance song (Example 2).[10] But the collection contains

Ex. 2. Monophonic ballata, 'Che ti zova nascondre'

as well some longer, more florid melodies in a style not very different from that associated with the top line of polyphonic compositions, save perhaps that the monophonic compositions are more complicated rhythmically, more sophisticated in their use of melodic decoration, and more artful in their construction since they needed to be self-sufficient. 'Lucente stella' (Example 3),[11] for instance, is also in

Ex. 3. Monophonic ballata, 'Lucente stella'

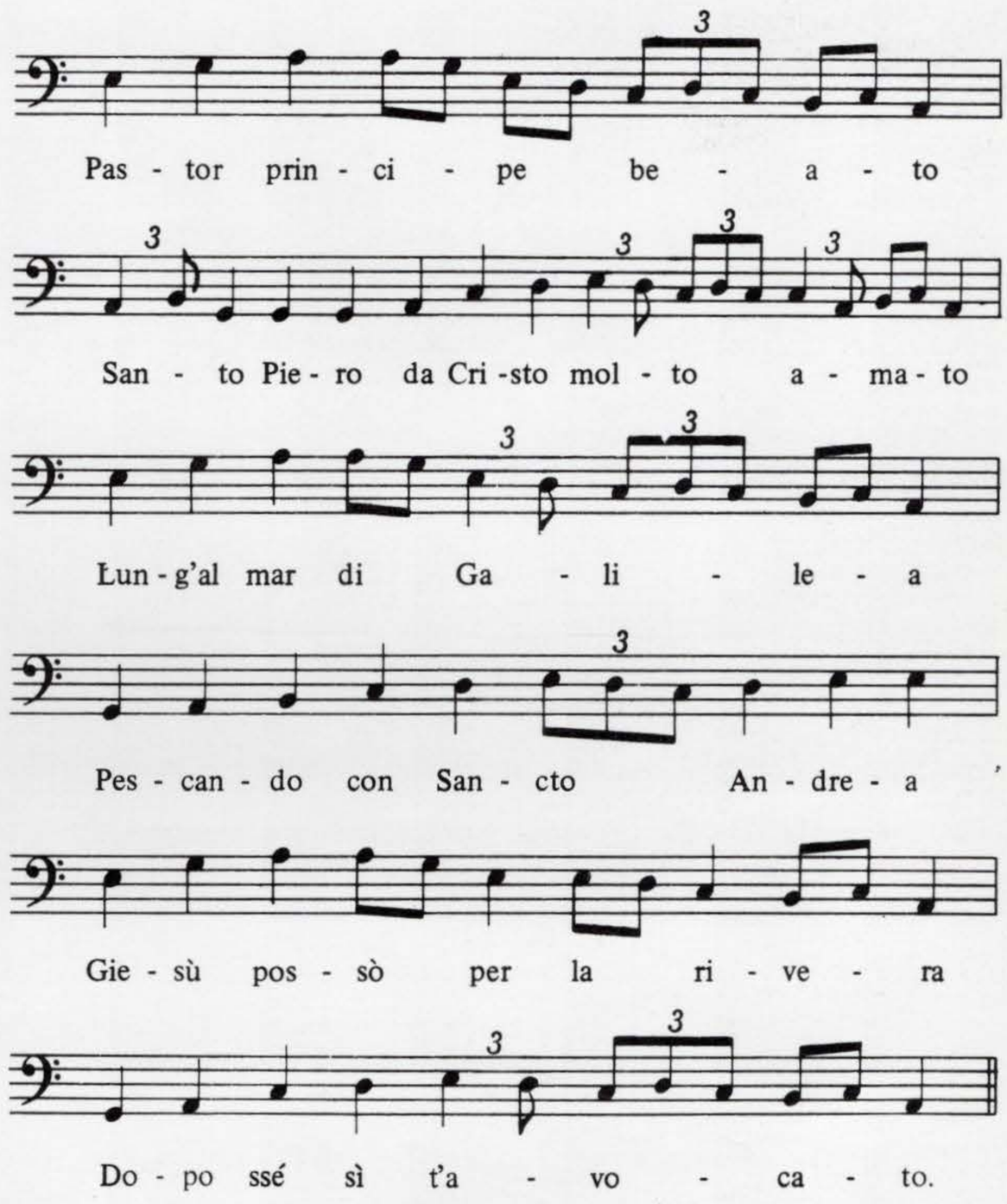
Lu - cen - te stel - la
che'l mi- o cor de - sfa - i Con
no - vo guar - do che mo-
ve d'a - mo - re, A -
- - gi -pie - tà de quel che
per ti mo - re. I a -
ti to- i dol - ce pro - me-ton
sa lu - te A
chi se spe-chia nel - lo
to bel vi - so;

triple metre, but it is difficult to imagine dancing to such an extended florid melody, and in any case its proportions, its melodic embellishments, and its bifurcated phrase structure (with the caesura in each line marked by a passing cadence) makes it contrast sharply with the shorter ballate in the Rossi manuscript. The later monophonic ballate, five by Ser Gherardelló da Firenze, five by Lorenzo Masini, and one by Niccolò da Perugia, are almost all more florid than those in the Rossi Codex, closer to 'Lucente stella' than to 'Che ti zova nascondere.'[12] And their melodic contours make them virtually indistinguishable from the cantus parts of two- and three-part music. The highly virtuoso runs, turns and other decorations in the ballate of Lorenzo Masini seem to reflect his own personal style rather than any historical trend, and he may well have written monophonic ballate out of indifference or hostility to the new-fashioned polyphonic settings of the verse form.[13] It would, of course, be convenient to compare these compositions with what came after or before in order to help us decide whether Boccaccio's elegant young Florentines sang songs in such a florid style, or whether the surviving examples represent a more cultivated and erudite repertory, reflecting only indirectly what well-born amateurs would have been able to perform. Modern singers find this music difficult to learn, for it demands a high degree of control and virtuosity, and Boccaccio (at the end of the ninth day) makes rather modest claims for his company of young people, acknowledging that their songs were more entertaining in their words than polished in the singing.

Unfortunately, though, no other secular monophonic music survives from 13th- or 14th-century Italy,[14] but we may perhaps gain some perspective about the musical style cultivated by the upper classes by comparing these monophonic ballate with the repertory of laude sung by laymen in churches in Florence and other parts of Italy during the later Middle Ages. Lauda societies, many of them organized by the Franciscans, began to appear in Italy in the 13th century. The oldest in Florence, connected with the church of Santa Maria Novella, where Boccaccio's young people met at the beginning of the *Decameron*, was founded in 1244.[15] By 1300 it was administered by four captains, twelve councillors and three bursars elected from among the members every six months, and a friar was put in charge of the group's spiritual direction. At Santa Maria Novella the lauda society met every second Saturday—and later in the century

every evening—to sing laude, march in processions with candles and listen to sermons. Beginning in the 1320s the addition of trumpet players, 'trombadori', for special feast days made their services more festive, but they paid no other instrumentalists until much later in the century and only a few singers, some choirboys from time to time, and during the first half of the century a single singer who may have taught the others their songs. The picture of what a lauda society in Florence was like is filled out a bit by two passages in the *Decameron*. In one story (third day, story 4) the butt of an amorous plot is a prosperous and law-abiding citizen with an attractive younger wife. Boccaccio conveys very well the somewhat smug and naive piety of the husband by describing him as 'a simple, well-intentioned soul, [who] recited his paternosters, attended sermons, went to Mass, and turned up infallibly whenever laude were being sung by the laymembers'. And in another story (seventh day, story 1) the plot turns around the frequent absences from home of a master weaver who was also regularly elected captain of the lauda singers at Santa Maria Novella, and hence he had to conduct their rehearsals ('ritenere la scuola loro'), and he was given other trifling duties, so that he had a high opinion of himself. The only reason he was given those duties was that he was comfortably well off and therefore he used to feed the friars well. In return, they gave him copies of the 'Pater noster' in the vernacular, the song of Saint Alexis, the lament of Saint Bernard, the laud of Lady Matilda, and a whole lot of other drivel ('cotali altri ciancioni'), all of which he greatly prized.

No one has ever demonstrated that the lauda melodies of the late 13th and early 14th centuries which survive in two manuscripts, one from Cortona and the other from Florence,[16] were sacred contrafacta of secular songs, and it is unlikely that anyone will ever be able to show that this was the case, since there are no secular melodies left. But an impressive body of circumstantial evidence points to the likelihood that some lauda texts at least were sung to secular melodies. The technique of contrafactum is associated with laude from the mid-14th century to the 17th century. Lauda singers after about 1360 sometimes borrowed the music of polyphonic ballate for their sacred texts. And most of the monophonic laude were written in ballata form. Moreover, in the early lauda collections the same melody sometimes serves more than one text, or, conversely, the same text is set to more than one melody.[17] If it is true that the earliest lauda melodies were originally secular songs, we do then have a slightly broader base for comparison of the surviving monophonic Italian music. It may be that the music Boccaccio's young Florentines sang more closely resembled the tuneful and very slightly melismatic melodies of the laude, like 'Pastor principe beato' (Example 4)[18] rather than the florid and highly virtuoso ballate of Gherardelló and Lorenzo Masini.

Ex. 4. Monophonic lauda, 'Pastor principe beato'

Pas - tor prin - ci - pe be - a - to
San - to Pie - ro da Cri - sto mol - to a - ma - to
Lun - g'al mar di Ga - li - le - a
Pes - can - do con San - cto An - dre - a
Gie - sù pos - sò per la ri - ve - ra
Do - po ssé sì t'a - vo - ca - to.

And if Boccaccio's elegant young Florentines did sing songs of a sort that have only come down to us in a sacred disguise, that fact in turn illuminates the social status of the lauda. Commentators are fond of writing about the fresh, popular spirit of the lauda repertory, but in Florence laude were not sung by the masses, that is, the *popolo minuto*—peasants and disenfranchised clothworkers, for example—but by solid citizens. Boccaccio's leader of the lauda society was a master weaver, and the rank and file in the confraternities must have been made up of members of the city's various guilds, and hence a part of Florence's middle classes.[19] It is more likely, then, that lauda singers would have adopted the secular entertainment music of their social peers and betters—that is, monophonic ballate—than that they would have borrowed street songs or tavern songs to enhance their expres-

The Effects of Good Government, *fresco by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (c 1319-1348), Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. Detail.*

sions of pious if often delightfully naive religious sentiments.

If the *Decameron* illuminates the social role of laude in an indirect manner, it furnishes more straightforward information about the 'sociology of the ballata' and about music in general as a social grace. It is clear, for example, that the higher levels of Florentine society, to which Boccaccio's company of ladies and gentlemen belonged, regarded the performance of music as a desirable accomplishment that they took for granted. At least none of them demurred at taking their turn at the end of each evening at singing a song for the delight of the whole company, and both men and women sang, together and alone. It may be symptomatic of the degree of their involvement with performance, though, that only two of the company of ten seem to have been able to play an instrument, Dioneo the lute and Fiammetta the fiddle, and they are the two who are twice described as singing together while the rest of the company amuse themselves in other ways. Once they sing a song about Messer Guiglielmo and the Lady of Vergiù, and once they sing about Palamon and Arcites, the heroes of Boccaccio's mock epic, the *Tesseide*. Another time, Dioneo sings with Lauretta about Troilus and Cressida, the subject of another of Boccaccio's works, the *Filostrato*. And in some of the stories the degree of refinement in a character is measured partly by his musical abilities. There is, for example, the uncouth son of a Cypriot nobleman, whose story is recounted on the fifth day (story 1). Upon falling in love, he cultivates the art of being a gentleman, abandoning his coarse, rustic accent in favour of a more seemly and civilized manner of speech; he learns to ride and make war, and he even becomes an accomplished singer and musician. In another story (eighth day, story 9), Simone, newly arrived in Florence to set up a practice after having received his degree in medicine from the University of Bologna, brags to his new friends about how educated he is. He can tell stories, he says, and even sing. But his singing wins him faint praise. 'With a cacophonous voice like that', replies his friend, 'you could charm the vultures out of the trees.'

A third story (seventh day, story 3) centres around Rinaldo, an elegant gentleman who became a friar in a temporary fit of piety, but soon reverted to his former genteel ways. He began to take pride in his appearance, wearing expensively tailored cassocks, affecting an air of sprightliness and elegance, composing canzonets, sonnets and ballades, and even singing various songs. Rinaldo is not the only well-born character in the *Decameron* actually to write songs as well as sing them. The noble youth, Tedaldo degli Elisei (the hero of story 7 on the third day), who has become rich as a merchant after some years of self-exile on Cyprus, happens to hear someone sing a song that he himself had composed, recounting the love he bore his mistress, her love for him, and the pleasure he had of her. The song makes him so homesick that he immediately returns to Florence. At the end of the third day of the *Decameron*, one of the young ladies, Lauretta, professes some reluctance to sing for the whole company because she knows only her own songs, which are unfit for so merry a gathering. The others overcome her qualms, however. She performs a melancholy ballata and all the ladies join her in the refrain. Since Boccaccio does not remark on the oddity of a woman writing her own songs and then singing them, we may conclude that it was common practice, at least among the higher classes, in 14th-century Florence.

Boccaccio does not explain whether these well-born song-writers composed only the words, or also the

The Way to Salvation (The Pleasures of Dancing), *by Andrea da Firenze, 1365, the Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence. Detail of fiddle player.*

melodies of the songs they sang. But one story in the *Decameron* (tenth day, story 7) does offer some details about the process of writing songs in the trecento, though it describes a professional musician, and not an amateur. In Palermo, the highly expert 'cantatore e sonatore', Minuccio d'Arezzo, is asked to entertain the daughter of a rich Florentine apothecary, Lisa Puccini, who is melancholy because she has fallen in love with the King of Sicily, and she realizes how impossible her dream of an alliance is. Minuccio plays for her on his fiddle 'alcuna stampita e cantò alcuna canzona'. But he is touched by her plight and since he regularly entertains the king he determines to do something for her. He asks a friend of his, a 'dicitore in rima', to write a poem about Lisa's love—a ballata, incidentally—and then he sets it to music in three days. Soon thereafter Minuccio plays his song for the king, who is touched by Lisa's love for him, and arranges for her a suitable marriage with a commoner. So even a professional composer—or at least a professional performer who composes—set to music poetry written on commission. At least one manuscript, a 16th-century anthology of 13th-century poetry now in the Vatican, confirms this distribution of labour, for a poem by Lemmo da Pistoia is annotated by the remark, 'Et Casella diede la suono', that is, Casella—doubtless the same musician who appears in Dante's *Purgatorio*—composed the music; and beside a poem by Lapo degli Uberti, a note states that Mino d'Arezzo, perhaps the hero of Boccaccio's story himself, 'diede la nota'.[20] On the other hand, there is evidence that composers such as Francesco Landini often wrote their own poems to set to music, and that amateur musicians even wrote polyphony. Pirrotta's edition of trecento polyphony, for example, includes compositions by a painter of cassoni (Bonaiuto Corsini), an elementary school teacher (Andrea Stefani), and even a maker of slippers (Jacopo Pianelaio). If such people could write polyphony, then surely Boccaccio's young Florentines could have written the melodies as well as the words of their songs, even though they might also have given their poems to a professional 'cantatore e sonatore' to set.

I have spoken of 'professional' and 'amateur' composers, but it is obviously not so easy to draw hard and fast distinctions in the 14th century. Many trecento composers—that is, composers of polyphony, since the men who wrote monophonic ballate are largely unknown—were clerics, like Vincenzo da Rimini, Paolo Tenorista, Bartolino da Padova, and Frater Egidius, or else laymen in the service of the church, like Francesco Landini and his pupil, Giovanni Mazzuoli degli Organi, organists at San Lorenzo and the cathedral of Florence. But the church may not have been a great patron of polyphonic music in 14th-century Italy. Chant was probably the most frequent musical sound in Italian churches of the time, and the relatively small amount of sacred music that survives may have been more in the nature of experiment, or at least examples of local circumscribed practices, rather than a fragment of a vast repertory of lost music.[21] Few of the churchmen who were composers, with the possible exception of the lay organists, would have devoted anything like all of their professional time to music. Moreover, many trecento composers were laymen with no formal professional connection with the Church, like Giovanni da Cascia, Jacopo da Bologna and perhaps Gherardelló da Firenze and Niccolò da Perugia. That some polyphony was written by artisans and other members of the middle classes, does not affect the reasonableness of Pirrotta's view that polyphony throughout the 14th century, and especially during its first half, was the concern of a very small elite minority of cultivated intellectuals, not excluding churchmen.[22] Pirrotta points to the courts of Padua, Verona and Milano, under the patronage of

The Way to Salvation, *by Andrea da Firenze, 1365, the Spanish chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence. Detail of* The Pleasures of Dancing.

the Visconti and the Scaligeri, as the cradle of Italian polyphony, rather than the more democratic Florence. And to support his argument, he cites the careers of the best and most prolific composers of the early trecento—Giovanni da Cascia from Florence, Jacopo da Bologna and Magister Piero—who sought their fortunes in the northern Italian courts and vied with one another in writing polyphony for the Scaligeri and the Visconti. To a much greater extent than other Italian composers of the period, then, they were 'professionals', in the sense that they probably spent most of their time writing and playing music.

And Minuccio d'Arezzo, the 'cantatore e sonatore', seems to have belonged to a professional class of musician-poets, who were called upon to sing and play for anyone who would pay them. Minuccio is described as playing a fiddle and singing to it, and doubtless this was the main solo and accompanying instrument of the *giullari* or minstrels of 14th-century Italy. Hired as regular attendants to princes and rich citizens, or else freelance musicians available for hire, these singer-poet-instrumentalists will always be a rather mysterious class of musician, since we can never know much about the way they played and sang. Presumably Minuccio and his colleagues knew a wider range of compositions than the ballate performed by the upper classes. Besides the ballata whose text is given complete in the *Decameron*, Minuccio played 'alcuna stampita' for Lisa Puccini, a circumstance that furnishes a valuable clue to the nature of the few surviving pieces called stampita; if Boccaccio is to be believed, they could be performed as instrumental compositions and not only as dances. Perhaps 'cantatori' also performed canzoni proper, the verse form that Dante in his *De Vulgari Eloquentia* seems to imply could be sung, and which he praises as the highest kind of lyric poetry.[23] And they may also have sung other lyric forms, such as the sonnet, and perhaps even sections of longer, narrative verse, romances and epics, although we know virtually nothing about the conventions of performances of such works in the Middle Ages. In short, Minuccio and the other trecento 'cantatori e sonatori' were surely the predecessors of Leonardo Giustiniani, Serafino dell'Aquila, and the other Italian poet-improvisers of the 15th century, although Minuccio disappoints us in this respect by going to a specialist to get his verses written for him, when we would expect him to write them himself, or even to improvise them when he performed before the king.

Accompanying himself on the fiddle, Minuccio can only have adopted one of three procedures: he could have played drones above or below the melodic line he sang; he could have doubled the sung part, either with or without heterophonic variations and instrumental interludes; or he could have played an independent line against the melody he sang. There is in fact no reason why he should not have cultivated all three techniques and used them as the occasion demanded. Some trecento fiddles had flat bridges and off-board drones ideally suited for performance of monophonic melodies with drone accompaniment. In modern times, folk performers in various cultures, faced with the task of playing a monophonic repertory accompanied by a stringed instrument have hit upon the

Detail from Giotto's Wedding Procession of the Virgin, *Cappella della Scrovegni, Padua.*

solution of doubling themselves, and so, in the absence of any information to the contrary, we can imagine that trecento performers might also have adopted this procedure sometimes. The third technique—to play an independent line against the sung melody—was, of course, eventually adopted by composers and performers, as we know from the many two-part madrigals that appear in various manuscript anthologies of the period. They may often have been performed by one instrument and a solo singer, and perhaps one of the ways polyphony entered the Italian musical scene was through professional singers improvising a second instrumental part against the principal monophonic melody.

Aside from church organists and *giullari* such as Minuccio d'Arezzo, wind players who performed civic and ceremonial functions seem to have been the other principal class of professional musicians in trecento Italy, and although they are not mentioned by Boccaccio a word about them and their duties will fill out the picture of professional musical life during the period. From the late 13th century the commune of Florence had hired as civic musicians eight to ten men who included single players of shawm, tambourine and kettle drums, as well as six trumpet players, whose various titles as 'tubatores', 'trombadori', 'suonatori di tromba', or 'trombetta' may reveal a variety of function.[24] The shawmist, perhaps accompanied by the tambourine player, can only have performed monophonic melodies; it was not until the 1380s that Florence hired a group of two or three 'pifferi' who were capable of playing polyphony. The trumpeters certainly played fanfares, and although no documents survive to tell us precisely how such musical signals sounded in the 14th century, the choice of notes is relatively limited on instruments without finger holes, whose pitches are thus limited to the overtone series. It may be that the various names applied to these musicians suggest that some played drones while others specialized in playing simple step-wise melodies at the upper end of their range. A group of trumpet players might then even have played dance music—tune plus multiple drone—a possibility that would explain the widow Elena's remark in one of Boccaccio's stories (eighth day, story 7) that she is clever enough to make men dance without the aid of trumpets or bagpipes, when she watches her erstwhile lover stamping his feet in the cold beneath her window.

Whatever music these civic musicians played, various city ordinances reveal the duties they were

Detail from Niccolò di Buonaccorso's Wedding of the Virgin, *National Gallery, London. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees.*

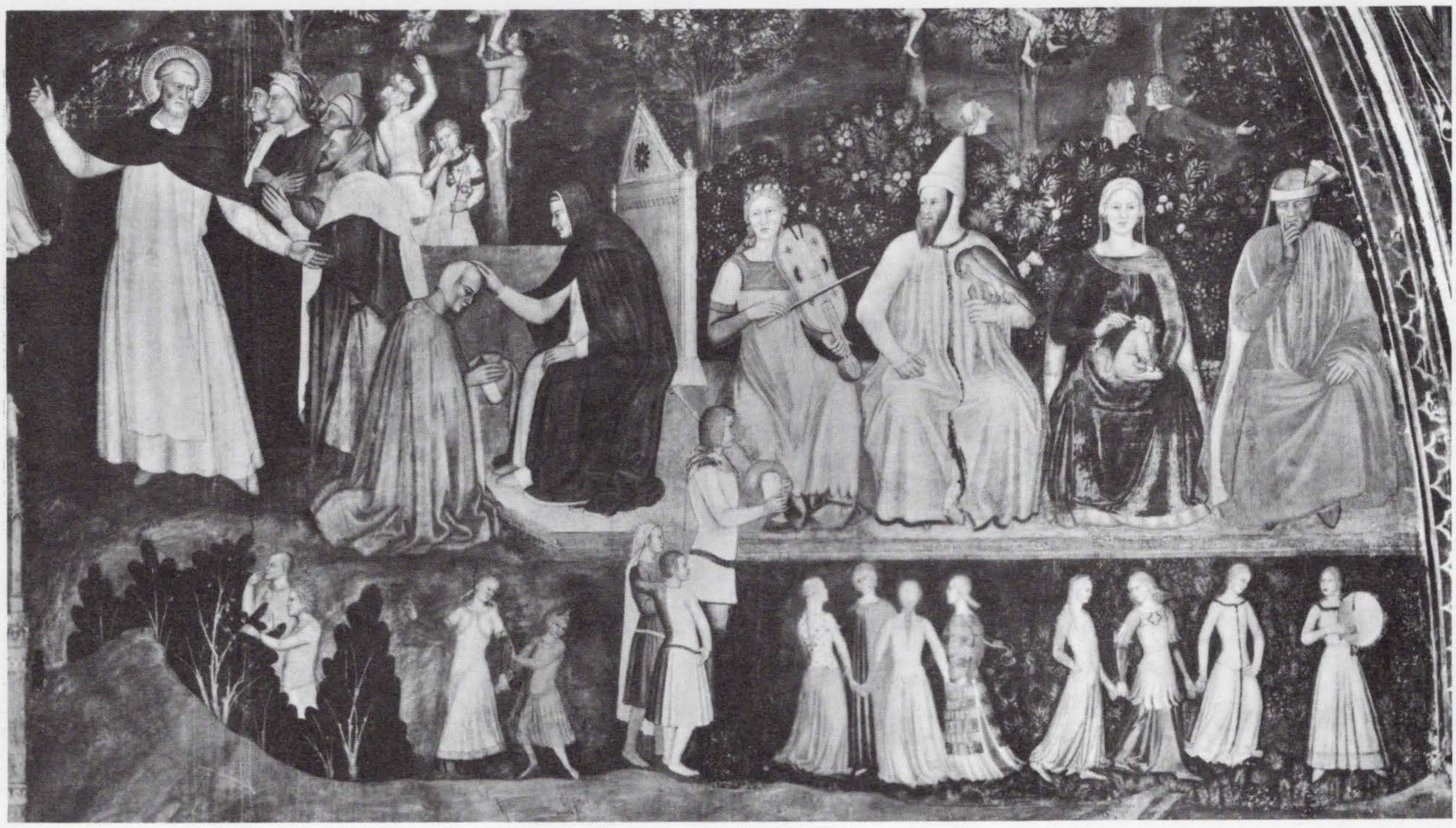
Part of Taddeo di Gaddi's Betrothal of the Virgin, *Baroncelli Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence.*

given. In Pisa in 1324, for example, they were expected to accompany city officials to greet important guests; they had to run to the Palazzo whenever there was trouble in the city; they played 'concerts' in the town square in the morning, and especially on holidays; and two trumpets and shawm opened and closed sittings of the court.[25] In San Gimignano a law was passed prohibiting trombadori from playing at weddings unless invited by the groom,[26] a negative indication of one of the commonest of private occasions when trumpeters were expected to perform, a convention illustrated by a number of paintings that show such musicians in attendance at relatively simple weddings as well as more elaborate ones, and sometimes even at the marriage of the Virgin Mary.[27] In Florence, the trumpeters accompanied soldiers 'in exercitum vel cavalcantum' and played for the opening of parliament and at other civic functions, and the term 'sveglia cienamella', used several times in the Florentine documents to describe the shawm player, discloses to us that he had additional duties as the town watchman.[28]

Trumpets and drums, and shawms and tambourines were the instruments associated with civic musicians. Professional singers accompanied themselves on the fiddle, and we have seen that upper-class amateurs also played that instrument as well as the lute for their own amusement. In the Spanish Chapel in Santa Maria Novella, the fresco painted by Andrea da Firenze less than two decades after the Florentine plague, showing the way to salvation, depicts a group of four well-born citizens enjoying the pleasures of this world.[29] The scene might almost be an illustration from the *Decameron*, and the five-stringed slightly waisted fiddle played by the lady on the left is doubtless the same sort of instrument on which Fiammetta played a dance accompanied by Dioneo on the lute after dinner on the first day. Francesco Traini included a similar scene in his fresco depicting the triumph of death, painted for the Camposanta at Pisa, save that here the group of people enjoying themselves in a garden are about to be cut down by the figure of death flying towards them with his scythe.[30] Traini's scene adds another instrument to the list of those suitable for performance by the upper classes in the fourteenth century, for here a man playing the fiddle is accompanied by a woman plucking a psaltery.

Boccaccio puts quite a different set of instruments into the hands of the lower classes. At the conclusion of both the sixth and seventh days, the company of ladies and gentlemen wish to dance to a sound louder than that of their own voices, or than the lute and fiddle duet they heard on their first day in the country, and so they call upon Filostrato's manservant, Tindaro, to bring out his bagpipe ('cornamusa') to

Detail from The Way to Salvation, *Andrea da Firenze, cited previously.*

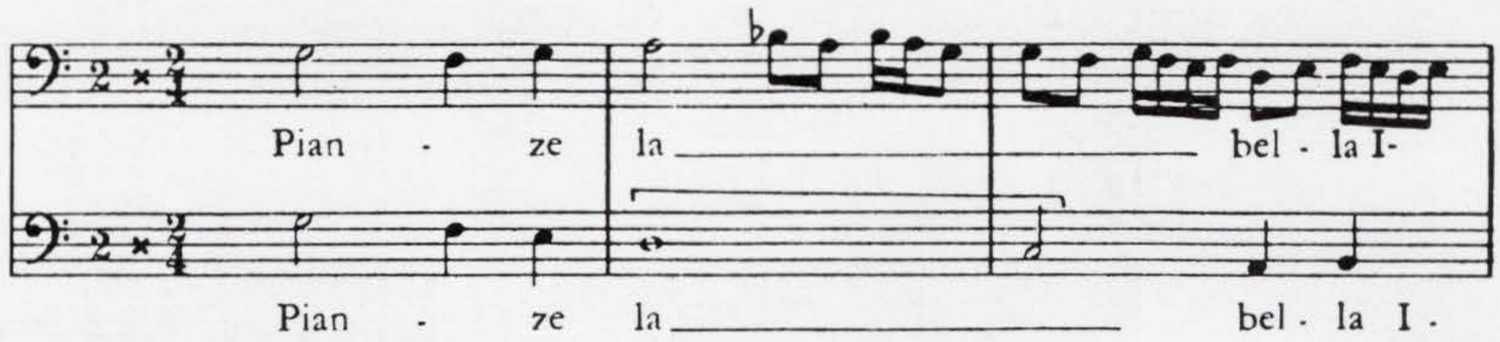
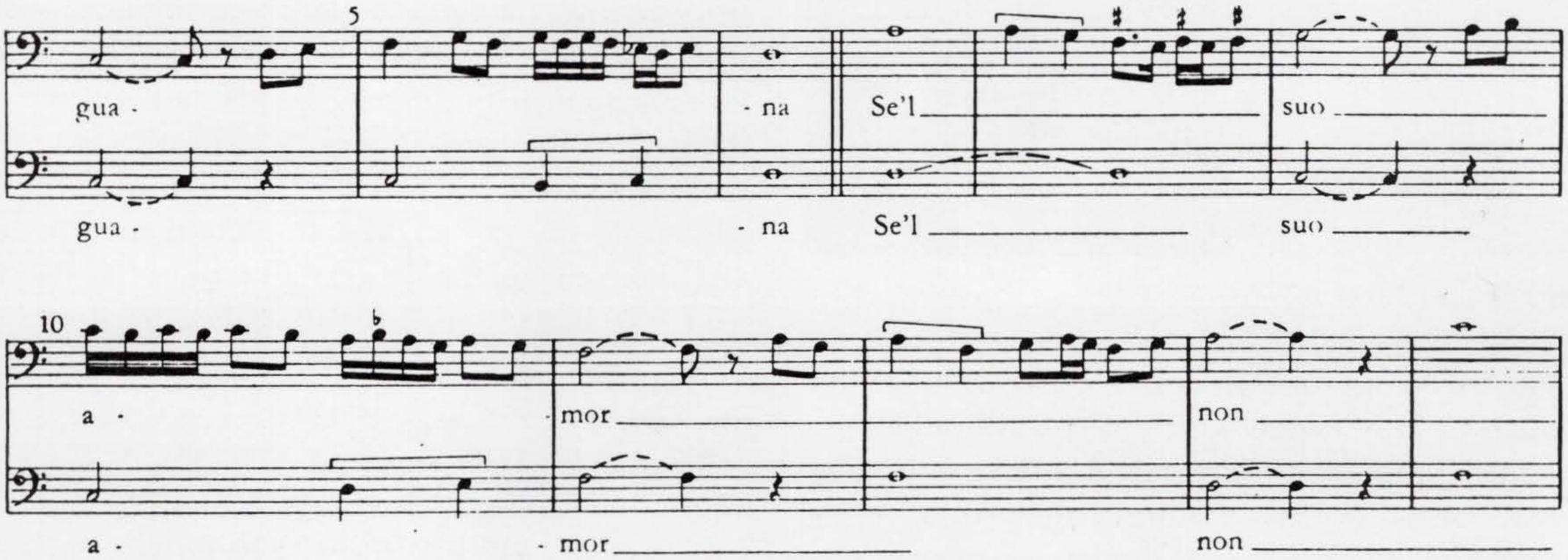
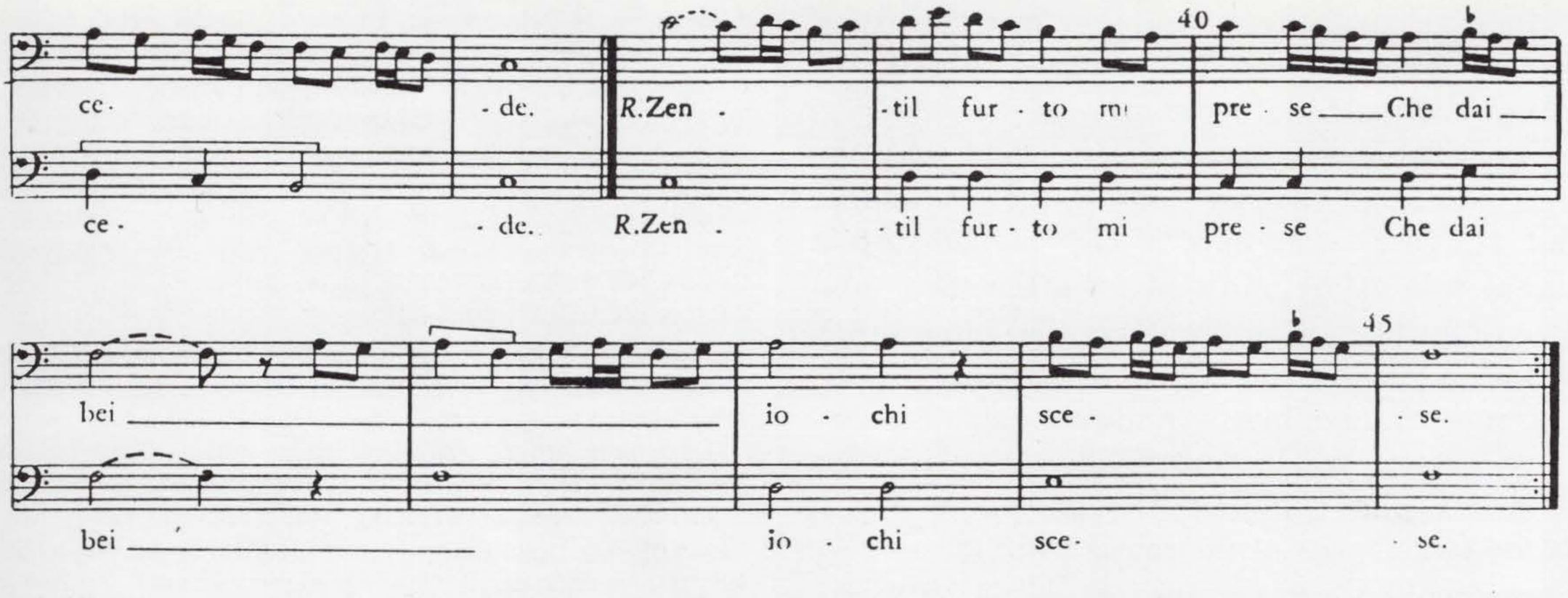


Detail of the bagpiper from The Way to Salvation.

play for them, an instrument, apparently, that no gentleman or lady would wish to play, although they do not disdain to dance to its raucous noise.[31] One of the stories in the *Decameron* (ninth day, story 5) seems to suggest that the rebec was also an instrument unsuitable for upper-class entertainment music in the early trecento, even though it was certainly admitted into polite society later in the century, without any apparent condescension. The story concerns the foolish painter's apprentice, Calandrino, apparently a mythical figure of fun in trecento Florence, about whom several stories are told in the *Decameron*. While helping to decorate the country house of a wealthy landowner, he is tricked into supposing that the beautiful lady whom he greets while fetching water from a well is really the wife of the landowner's son and that she is in love with him, when in fact she is merely a prostitute the son has brought with him to the country and she is fascinated by Calandrino's grotesque appearance rather than smitten by any romantic notions. His fellow workers egg Calandrino on to bring his rebec the next day to serenade her, which he does to the great amusement of everyone who hears him singing to the instrument. While Boccaccio did not explicitly say so, it seems that the idea of serenading a lady by singing to the rebec is not the least ridiculous part of Calandrino's inept and comical campaign.

Along with musical instruments associated with members of the *popolo minuto* and peasants, a repertory of lower-class music existed in 14th-century Italy, a genre that we would be completely ignorant of were it not for the *Decameron* and other similar sources of indirect reports, since none of it appears among the refined and elegant compositions in the manuscript collections of polyphony. At least, I assume from the tone of the incipits and the context in which they appear that three songs mentioned in Boccaccio's hundred tales are different in kind from the ballate the well-born company sing at the end of each day. 'L'acqua corre alla borrana' has become a modern idiom, meaning 'Each man follows his own bent',[32] but in the 14th century, according to the *Decameron* (eighth day, story 2) it was a dance song which the farm-worker's wife, Monna Belcolore, a vigorous and seductive looking wench, performed to her tambourine better than any of her neighbours, a feat which won for her the attentions of her parish priest. 'Who was the villain who stole my pot of herbs?' ('Qual esso fu lo mal Chistiano che mi furò la grasta') sounds like the refrain of a folk ballad, and it is described by Boccaccio in terms that make me think my surmise correct. He called it (on the fourth day, story 5) a song still sung in his day in memory of a lady who hid the head of her lover, murdered by her brothers, in a pot of basil. And the song 'Voi non l'avri da mi, Donna Brunetta' ('You won't have it from me, Donna Brunetta'), which the cook, Chichibio, sings to the country wench, Brunetta (on the sixth day, story 4), when he tries to refuse to give her a leg from the crane he is roasting, has the ring of an equivocal popular tune. A list of such tunes is

Detail from Lorenzetti's The Effects of Good Government.

Ex. 5. Anonymous,
'Pianze la bella Iguana'

given at the end of the fifth day when Dioneo teases the rest of the company by threatening to sing a series of songs that they feel are inappropriate for such a company. When they reject 'Lift your tail, Monna Aldruda, so I can bring you the good news', he laments the fact that he cannot offer them 'Lift your skirts, Monna Lapa', 'Under the olive tree there is grass', or 'The waves of the sea make me sick', since he does not have a tambourine. And he goes on to name five more such songs before he is finally talked into singing a ballata.[33] I take it that they are all inappropriate because they are socially unsuitable—that is, they are street songs or tavern songs or peasant songs—rather than because some of them are risqué, for it seems strange that the company would suddenly become so prudish after having listened to so many bawdy stories with evident relish. The list makes tantalizing reading, and it is fascinating to learn that some are specifically associated with the tambourine, but there seems to be no way even to imagine how such songs sounded or to guess how they compared with the trecento music that does survive.[34] The one composition in the Vatican Rossi Codex that may be a popular poem set to music as a madrigal, 'Pianze la bella Iguana' (Example 5),[35] seems not to offer many clues to popular music style. The poem is strophic, each strophe consisting of a quatrain plus a couplet. The music for the first and second couplets is the same except for the first two and a half bars, and the final couplet is treated as a ritornello. The lower of the two voices sounds more like an unusually static supporting voice than a popular tune, and the upper voice seems rather like an ornamented organal voice, with thinly disguised parallel fifths and octaves. Such a piece may reflect improvised polyphony, but it is virtually impossible to imagine connections between it and the boisterous songs Dioneo was prevented from singing. Nor do the two compositions from the late 14th-century Lucca Codex published by Disertori as popular songs help us to understand what an early 14th-century Florentine might consider 'popular'.[36] The poetic tone of their texts is very different from other trecento songs, as one can tell even from their incipits—'De tristo mi topinello' ('My belly is sad') and 'De mia farina foe le mie lasagne' ('I make my lasagna from my own flour')—but they are both ballate, and they are written in a musical style only slightly simpler than the usual.

In short, the *Decameron* leads us to sharpen our perceptions of the social uses of music in the trecento, and helps us to evaluate the surviving music against a background broader than merely the history of manuscripts containing polyphony. Historians might describe the political structure of Florence as a guild oligarchy.[37] There were old aristocratic families in the city, but the real civic power was mostly in the hands of guild members, and the most telling social distinction involved the division of the guilds into two classes, major and minor. So the middle classes, who made up the majority of Florence's citizens, were ranged along a continuum from lowest to highest. Boccaccio does not tell us precisely who his young Florentines were, but we can assume, I think, that they were the sons and daughters of rich merchants and bankers, connected by family marriages, bonds of friendship, and class ties. They cultivated music as a social grace. Some of them played instruments and most of them sang. Sophisticated single-line melodies setting refined and elegant amorous lyrics sufficed for their musical needs, along with a repertory of dance tunes now largely lost. At the lower end of the middle-class spectrum, the simpler people, pious and God-fearing, joined con-

fraternities of lauda singers, and they may have sung some of the same melodies, but in sacred disguises. At the bottom of the social structure, the *popolo minuto*, made up of labourers, those who did odd jobs, the peasants and small farmers living in the countryside around Florence, who have always played such a significant role in the fabric of town life there, and special groups like the clothworkers who often struck in the 14th century or caused civil disturbances of one kind or another, had their own music, which is probably lost beyond recall. And finally there were the small circles who cultivated the polyphony which forms the largest part of the music from the century that has come down to us. But were it not for a very few manuscripts, and especially the great Squarcialupi Codex, prepared as a humanistic monument to the past by a 15th-century scholar, 'Florentine polyphony would appear as it really was', as Nino Pirrotta writes,[38] 'an art concealed in the silence of monasteries and churches, and in which a small number of literary men and musical amateurs took an interest, no doubt imitating the polyphonic fashion of the Northern courts'. Only with Landini later in the century did polyphonic music reach a somewhat larger public.

[1] Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, translated by G. H. McWilliam (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 57. All references to the *Decameron* are to this English translation or to the Italian version edited by Charles S. Singleton, 2 vols, *Scrittori d'Italia*, nos 97 and 98 (Bari, 1955).

Previous studies of music in the *Decameron* include Hanns Gutman, 'Der *Decamerone* des Boccaccio als musikgeschichtliche Quelle', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 11 (1929): 397-401; Arnaldo Bonaventura, 'Il Boccaccio e la musica', *Rivista musicale italiana* 21 (1914): 405-42; and Nanie Bridgman, 'Les illustrations musicales des oeuvres de Boccaccio dans les collections de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris', *L'Ars Nova italiana del Trecento*, vol. 3 (Certaldo, 1970), pp. 105-30.

Ferdinand Schevill, *Medieval and Renaissance Florence*, 2 vols (revised ed., New York, 1961) 2: 261-62 estimates the population of Florence as approximately 120,000 just before the outbreak of plague in 1348.

[2] For a bibliographic guide to studies of trecento composers and their music, see Viola L. Hagopian, *Italian Ars Nova Music* (2nd revised ed., Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1973). The entire repertory and the manuscripts which contain trecento music are listed and described in Kurt von Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento* (Bern, 1956).

The entire corpus of trecento music is in the process of publication in two modern editions: W. Thomas Marrocco *et al.*, eds., *Italian Secular Music*, 'Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century' (Monaco, 1959ff), 6 vols to date, and Nino Pirrotta, ed., *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy* (American Institute of Musicology, 1954ff), 5 vols to date.

[3] Nino Pirrotta and Ettore Li Gotti, *Il Sacchetti e la tecnica musicale del trecento italiano* (Florence, 1935), p. 50.

[4] For a fuller consideration of the ballata, see Nino Pirrotta, 'Ballata', *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*.

[5] From Pirrotta, *Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy* 1: 79.

[6] See Santorre Debenedetti, 'Un trattatello del secolo XIV sopra la poesia musicale', *Studi medievali* 2 (1906-07): 59-82; and Antonio da Tempo, *Delle rime volgari* (1332), ed. Giusto Grion (Bologna, 1869), p. 117 ('Et tales ballatae cantantur et coreizantur'). On the anonymous treatise and its terminology, see also Nino Pirrotta, 'Una arcaica descrizione trecentesca del madrigale', *Festschrift Heinrich Besseler* (Leipzig, 1961), pp. 155-61; and idem, 'Ballate e "soni" secondo un grammatico del Trecento', *Saggi e ricerche in memoria di E. Li Gotti*, vol. 3 (Palermo, 1962), pp. 42-54.

[7] Debenedetti, 'Un trattatello'.

[8] A point made repeatedly by Nino Pirrotta, to whose work the present essay owes much. See, for example, his 'Ars Nova e stil novo', *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 1 (1966): 3-19.

[9] The manuscript is published in facsimile, edited by Giuseppe Vecchi (Bologna, 1966), and in a modern edition by Pirrotta in his *Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, vol. 2. Several newly discovered leaves from the manuscript, now in Ostiglia, Biblioteca del Comune, Raccolta Greggiati, containing eight hitherto unknown compositions *a 2*, are described in Oscar Mischiatti, 'Uno sconosciuto frammento appartenente al Codice Vaticano Rossi 215', *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 1 (1966): 68-76. The Bologna facsimile includes the Ostiglia fragment. On the relationship of the manuscript to the northern Italian courts, see Nino Pirrotta, 'Marchettus de Padua and the Italian Ars Nova', *Musica Disciplina* 9 (1955): 57-71.

[10] From Pirrotta, *Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy* 2: 36. The simplest and jauntiest monophonic ballata of all, 'Amor mi fa cantar a la Francesca' is written in *senaria perfecta*, which the author of the *trattatello* called 'aer gallicum' (presumably the mensuration marked 'sg' for *senaria gallica* in the Rossi Codex), which he reserved for instrumental music.

[11] From Pirrotta, *Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy* 2: 43.

[12] All eleven appear in the Squarcialupi Codex (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Pal. 87), ed. by Johannes Wolf (Lippstadt, 1955), pp. 56-57, 61-62, 79-81, 86-87, 89 and 133.

[13] An idea suggested in the foreword of Pirrotta, *Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy* 3: ii.

[14] Except, of course, for the 15 textless istampite, saltarelli and so on in London, British Library, MS Add. 29987, all edited in Johannes Wolf's 'Tänze des Mittelalters', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1918): 24-42.

[15] Most of this paragraph is derived from Frank A. D'Accone, 'Le Compagnie dei Laudesi in Firenze durante l'Ars Nova', *L'Ars Nova italiana del Trecento*, vol. 3 (Certaldo, 1969), pp. 253-80. See also Frank A. D'Accone, 'Music and Musicians at the Florentine Monastery of Santa Trinita, 1360-1363', *Memorie e Contributi alla musica dal medioevo all'età moderna offerti a F. Ghisi nel settantesimo compleanno (1901-1971)* (Bologna, 1971), pp. 131-52.

[16] They are all published in modern notation and in facsimile in Fernando Liuzzi, *La Lauda e i primordi della melodia italiana*, 2 vols (Rome, 1935). On the relationship between laude and secular ballate, see also Marie Louise Martinez, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento* (Tutzing, 1963), pp. 133-34, and Pirrotta, 'Ballata'.

[17] For example, the following pairs of laude were sung to similar melodies: Liuzzi, *La Lauda*, vol. 2, nos. 19 and 41; 29 and 70; 39 and 87; 45 and 46; 54 and 72; and 1: no. 38 and 2: no. 69 (see also nos. 64 and 65).

[18] From Liuzzi, *La Lauda*, 2: no. 41, but transcribed from the facsimile given there in slightly different rhythms.

[19] On the confraternities in general, see Gennaro Maria Monti, *Le Confraternite medioevali dell'alta e media Italia*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1927).

[20] Vatican, Biblioteca Ap. Vat., MS Lat. 3214. See Fabio Bisogni, 'Precisazioni sul Casella Dantesco', *Memorie e Contributi . . . offerti a F. Ghisi* (Bologna, 1971), pp. 88-89.

[21] At least that explanation for the lack of sacred music in trecento manuscripts has been offered by musicologists. But the surprisingly large number of compositions with Latin texts discovered in fragmentary Italian manuscripts during the past several decades may indeed lead us to suppose that polyphony was more important in

Italian churches than we had hitherto supposed. For a survey of recently discovered sacred polyphony, see Kurt von Fischer, 'The Sacred Polyphony of the Italian Trecento', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 100 (1973-74): 143-58. The music has been published in a modern edition by Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo as vol. 12 of *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (Monaco, 1975).

[22] His views are set out in a number of essays, and especially 'Marchettus de Padua' and 'Ars Nova'.

[23] Dante, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, II, viii, ed. Aristide Marigo (Florence, 1968), pp. 234-39. For a brief summary of divergent views on Dante's meaning, see Pirrotta, 'Ars Nova', pp. 10-12.

[24] The information about civic musicians in Florence has been taken from Giuseppe Zippel, *I suonatori della Signoria di Firenze* (Trent, 1892). See also Luigia Cellesi, *Documenti per la storia musicale di Firenze* (Turin, 1927).

[25] Zippel, *I suonatori*, pp. 9-10.

[26] Zippel, *I suonatori*, p. 10.

[27] See, for example, Taddeo di Gaddi's *Betrothal of the Virgin* in Florence, Santa Croce, Baroncelli Chapel, reproduced in Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance . . . Florentine School*, 2 vols. (London, 1963) 2: pl. 124; Giotto's *Wedding Procession of the Virgin* in Padua, Cappella della Scrovegni, reproduced in Gioyanni Previtali, *Giotto e la sua bottega* (Milan, 1967), fig. 431; Niccolò di Buonaccorso's *Wedding of the Virgin* in London, National Gallery, reproduced in Berenson, *Italian Pictures . . . Central Italian and North Italian Schools*, 3 vols. (London, 1968) 2: pl. 355; and Roberto di Oderisio's *Sacrament of Marriage* in Naples, S. Maria Incoronata, reproduced in Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266-44* (Rome, 1969), pls. xxxi and VII-12/13.

[28] Zippel, *I suonatori*, pp. 8, 21 and so on.

[29] Reproduced, among other places, in Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton, 1951), pl. 94.

[30] Reproduced by Meiss, pl. 85.

[31] The bagpiper playing in the Andrea da Firenze fresco cited in n. 30 above, may, like Tindaro, be entertaining the well-born company sitting on the platform, rather than playing for the much smaller sized dancers below the platform. The dancers are probably accompanied merely by the lady playing the tambourine (and presumably singing).

[32] See *The Cambridge Italian Dictionary*, ed. Barbara Reynolds (Cambridge, 1962) 1: 105 ('borrana').

[33] He mentions the following songs in *Il Decameron*, ed. Singleton, 1: 409-10:

> Monna Aldruda, levate la coda, ché buone novelle vi reco
> Alzatevi i panni, monna Lapa
> Sotto l'ulivello è l'erba
> L'onda del mare mi fa sí gran male
> Esci fuor, che sii tagliato, con'un mio in su la campagna
> Monna Simona imbotta imbotta, e non è del mese d'Ottobre
> Questo mio nicchio s'io nol picchio
> Deh! fa'pian, marito mio
> Io mi comperai un gallo delle lire cento.

Further text for only one of them, 'Questo mio nicchio', has been found; see Giosue Carducci, 'Della lirica popolare italiana del secolo XIII e XIV e di alcuni suoi monumenti inediti o trovati ultimamente', in *Edizione Nazionale delle opere di Giosue Carducci*, vol. 8 (Bologna, 1936), p. 392.

[34] Presumably, though, they are among the dancing songs with tambourine that would have been performed for occasions such as those pictured in the Andrea da Firenze fresco cited in notes 30 and 31 above; and in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco in Siena, Palazzo Pubblico, showing citizens dancing in the streets as one of the effects of good government, reproduced among other places in Berenson, *Central Italian and North Italian Schools*, 2: pl. 98; and perhaps, too, they are the sorts of songs Monna Belcolore sang to her tambourine, along with 'L'acqua corre alla borrana'.

[35] From Pirrotta, *Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy* 2: 30-31, described there (p. viii) as 'possibly a popular type of poem, set to music as a madrigal with a ritornello after each verse'.

[36] Gaetano Cesari, Raffaello Monterosso and Benvenuto Disertori, *Le Frottole nell'edizione principe di Ottaviano Petrucci* (Cremona, 1954) 1: xi-xii.

[37] For an introduction to the political structure of Florence, see Schevill, *Florence*, esp. chaps xiv-xvi; and Daniel Waley, *The Italian City-Republics* (New York, 1969). On the *popolo minuto*, see Gene A. Brucker, 'The Florentine Popolo Minuto and Its Political Role, 1340-1450', in *Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200-1500*, ed. Lauro Martines (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1972), pp. 155-83.

[38] In 'Marchettus de Padua', p. 71.

Niccolò di Buonaccorso's Wedding of the Virgin, *National Gallery, London. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees.*

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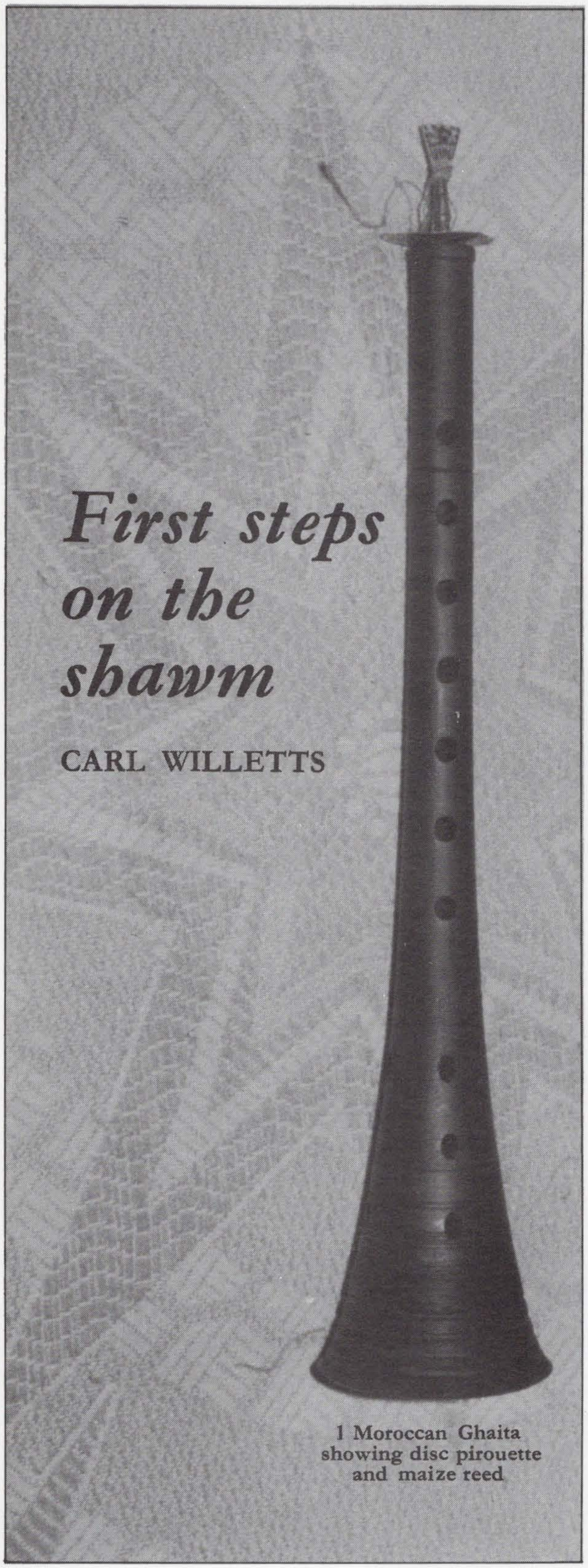


1 Moroccan Ghaita showing disc pirouette and maize reed

As Anthony Baines points out, the shawm must have been one of the most frequently heard of 16th-century wind instruments[1] and yet today, both on the concert platform and in amateur music circles, it is very much neglected. When a 'shawm sound' is heard, it is most likely to be a rauschpfeife, a relatively easy (i.e. non-embouchure) instrument, presumably derived from a reed-capped bagpipe chanter. The factor that deters many people who would otherwise like to play the shawm is the mystique surrounding embouchure and reed control. In this first article on shawms I would like to outline the main points of technique and try to correct some commonly held misconceptions. I will explain pirouettes and give some general hints on reed care etc, for the uninitiated. Some rather elementary points will need to be made, as I have seen novices (including myself) commit some quite obvious mistakes.

The information is based on my experience of modern folk shawms and modern copies of renaissance instruments. Fingerings will be referred to a shawm in C, i.e. 123/–––– gives the note G.

Technique of Eastern folk shawms

Before describing the technique of European renaissance shawms, I would like to consider the eastern folk shawm which is spread widely over the old Islamic world, from West Africa to Sumatra, including those parts of Europe occupied or invaded by the Moslems and Ottomans. This is for two reasons, the first that they are very much like precursors of the European shawm and, secondly that they can be obtained fairly cheaply from many Eastern arts and crafts type shops in England and from their countries of origin when on holiday. Some may need retuning for use in European medieval music, but if you find one in European *mean* tone or *just* intonation or a church mode, use it as it stands. As they are so cheap, buy two—one to retune and one to keep in its original tuning.

The typical eastern folk shawm is sounded by means of a small triangular maize reed (e.g. in Kenya from Mvumo reed grass), fixed on to a metal tube or staple which fits into the top of the instrument. Some distance below the reed on the staple, is a disc of metal, bone, wood, or coconut shell, called the pirouette (illus. 1). Shawms without this pirouette are most likely to have derived from bagpipe chanters that 'lost' their bag, e.g. the small Breton bombarde, and some Indian

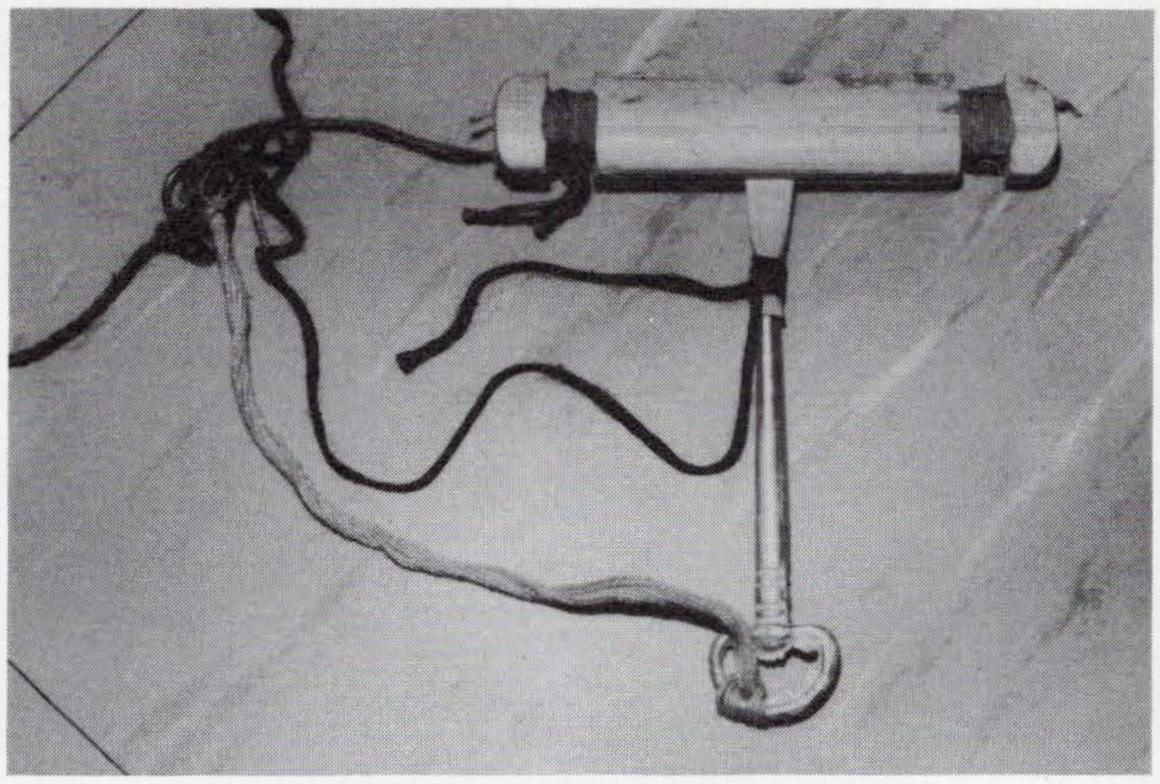
[1] *Woodwind Instruments and their History* (London, 1967), p. 268.

shawms, e.g. South Indian Mukavina or Nadasuram. I am concerned here only with the type *with* pirouette.

Before playing, soften the reed by soaking in clean water, if new, for several minutes. (Chinese reeds in China tea!) Fit the staple into the instrument; the joint between staple and instrument bore should be airtight. Now fit the pirouette disc (if loose), and then the soaked reed. Again, there should be an airtight seal between reed and staple—if not, the instrument may not sound or some notes may 'gargle' or 'yodel'. Next, adjust the gap between the ends of the blades of the reed by *very gently* squeezing or pinching it with finger-tips or teeth. If the gap is too narrow, the instrument may squeak up the octave (or not sound at all), and be very feeble on the bottom few notes. If the gap is too wide, the reed may not sound even at very high breath pressures. The correct gap can be found only by experience. If the reed does not sound or sounds only with difficulty at any gap setting, then it may be too dry (re-soak), or there may be an air leak between reed and staple. If it does not sound after much re-soaking, nor at any gap, try a different reed!

To play, engulf the reed and staple into your mouth so that both lips are pressed against the pirouette. You must keep the disc flush with your lips or the lips will soon tire from gripping the staple in order to form an airtight seal. Blow hard and firm, and gently tongue the reed on the underside to start it sounding. Do not tongue too hard or you may dislodge the reed from its staple and some are small enough to swallow with ease. Let your cheeks puff out, especially at high pressure as most oriental players do. The pirouette will prevent air leaking out between your lips. If you are afraid of your cheeks becoming distended with much playing, try wearing leather cheek straps (*capistrum*) as some Roman tibia players used to do—although there is no record of this quite useful item in medieval Europe.

Fingering is usually quite straightforward. You may have right or left hand uppermost. For the *main* notes of the scale, simply take off one more finger each time—there is usually no cross-fingering, but remember that the bottom (7 finger) note is usually a leading note, i.e. only a semitone below the 6 finger note. If finger 6 gives D then 7 gives C♯ and *not* C. Note also that the thumb and top finger-hole positions may be the reverse way round to those on the recorder, i.e. the thumb hole *below* the finger hole. Thus the functions of the thumb and first finger-holes will be reversed. Many folk players do not use finger-tips and rounded knuckles as on the recorder, but keep the



2 Indian reedmaking kit showing maize reed, clamp and mandrel.

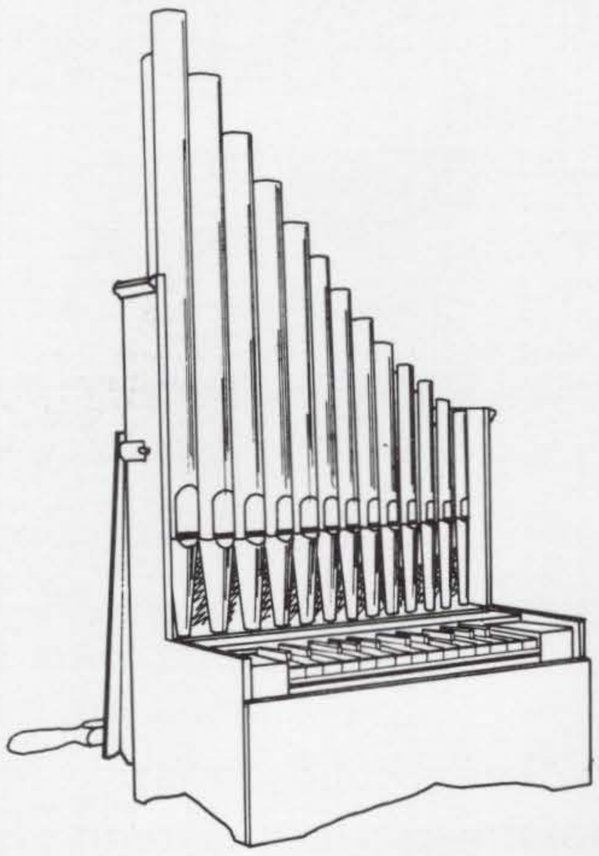
fingers straight and use flats of fingers to stop the holes—sometimes even the second joint. (I have also seen Scottish bagpipe players do this.)

To obtain the second octave, increase the diaphragm pressure. You may have to give a sudden 'kick' with the diaphragm to break into the second octave and relax again once you are there. 'Leaking' either the first finger or thumb hole may help. The second octave may not be in tune with the lower—sometimes it is a tone flatter. There is often little that can be done other than learning a different set of fingerings (one tone out) for the second octave.

Special techniques and playing styles that can be developed are: (1) double breathing—to give a long uninterrupted line of music by breathing out through the mouth and in through the nose at the same time; (2) finger articulation (instead of tonguing, articulate the music by playing bagpipe-type grace notes, especially between repeated notes of the same pitch); (3) finger slide glissandi; (4) 'scoops' on a note, e.g. D-C♯-D completely slurred and glided simply by relaxing the breath pressure and increasing it again, keeping the fingering for the upper note held all the time; (5) finger vibrato. These effects are used by modern folk players—I do not know if they were used in medieval Europe.

One problem with these shawms is obtaining new reeds, as the right sort of soft rush or maize tends not to grow in Europe. If you can get some suitable rush, they are easy enough to make, using a wooden clamp to squash one end of the reed whilst the other end is opened out and bound on to a mandrel or other shape former (illus. 2). This problem must have faced the first importers of these shawms, i.e. in the 12th century! European reed, *Arundo donax* or *Arundo sativa*, is stiffer and does not take so easily to the engulfing technique

NOEL MANDER



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and it was probably for this reason that the renaissance-type pirouette was invented. As I have still got a supply of maize reeds, I have not yet tried to fit a cane reed to an Arabic shawm. It will be worthwhile experimenting and perhaps lead to the authentic manner of playing medieval European shawms which looked very much like the Moroccan *ghaita* in illus. 1.

Renaissance European shawms

First let me lay down the law concerning the use of pirouettes on renaissance shawms. All sizes except the bass and great bass had pirouettes (there were some exceptions to this but these were *real* exceptions and should not be copied mistakenly as the general rule), and it is a great pity that several modern shawm-makers do not supply them. However, if you lack one, they can be made (for small sizes at least) out of bottle corks or cotton reels if you do not have access to a woodworking lathe. Some pirouettes are shown in illustration 3. The pirouette actually helps, rather than hinders, the formation of an embouchure and helps the player to keep going over long playing stretches, e.g. at banquets and fairs. I hope to show why this is so.

The largest sizes, great bass and bass, do not have a pirouette but are played with a bassoon player's embouchure with the top lip encroaching further down the reed than the lower (fig. 1). Ensure that the

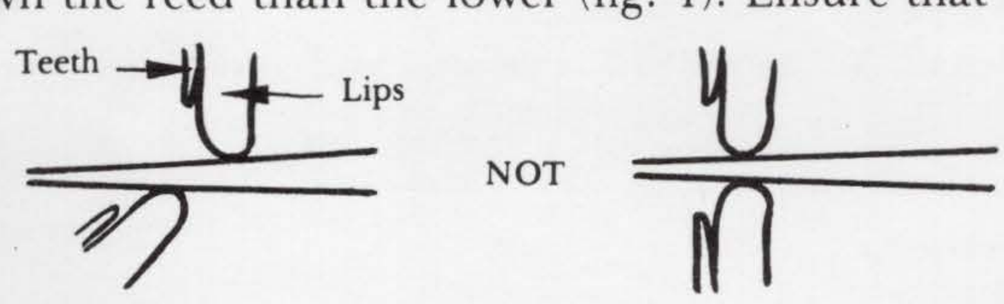


Fig. 1

reed enters the mouth perpendicular to the plane of the lips (fig. 2) or you will have difficulty in forming an

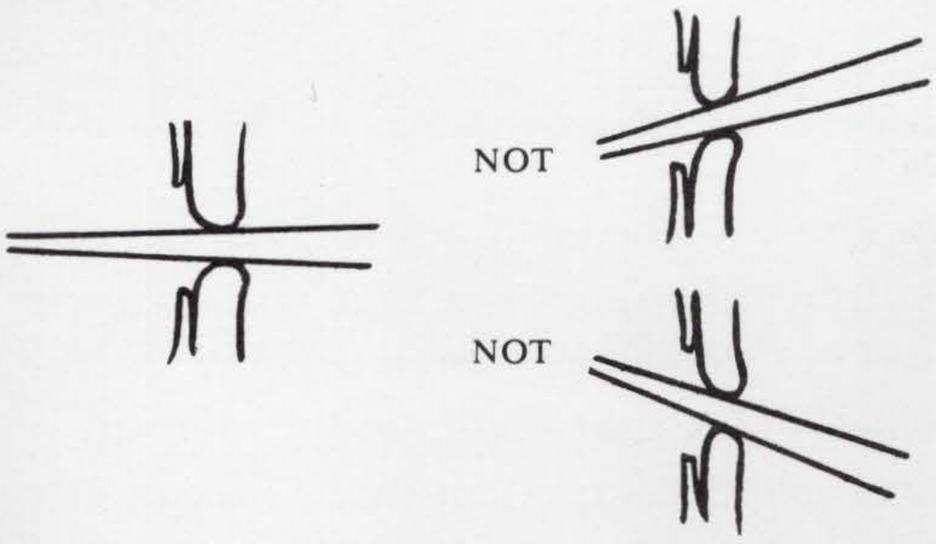


Fig. 2

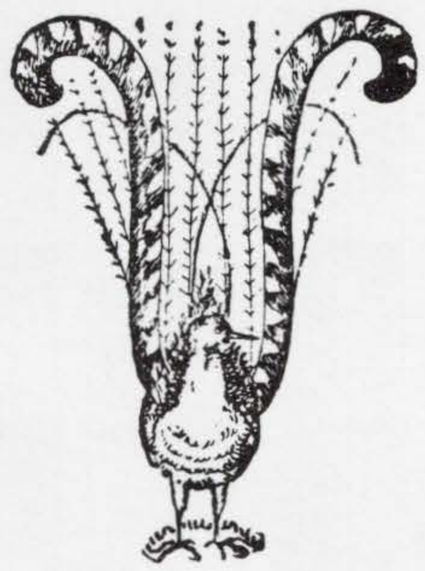
embouchure. I advise you to consult a book on bassoon technique, but perhaps use a slacker embouchure than modern players. The basset size can be played without pirouette like this especially in 17th-century church music. For smaller sizes supplied

3 Reeds, staples and pirouettes for soprano pommer (separate and integral types), alt pommer and bassett pommer.

without pirouette, either make one, or use an oboe/cor anglais embouchure (see, for example, Rothwell's *Oboe Technique*, etc). Again, do not grip the reed as tightly as a modern player or the tone will be strangled. I will now deal in some detail with the basic technique of playing a shawm with pirouette as I know of no other account of it.

Reed and pirouette adjustment

1. Remove reed from case. Always keep your reeds in a safe box as they are fragile, expensive and a nuisance to make in a hurry. If the 'case' is a plastic tube, I advise punching a hole in the lid of the tube to ventilate, or the damp reed may easily go mouldy. *Never* leave a reed and crook *on* an instrument when not in use. It is very easy to knock over or brush a sleeve against it and ruin both crook and reed.
2. Soak the reed up to the adjusting wire or bottom of the scraped part of the blade in clean water. Always do this before use and after playing, if possible, wash it through with clean water and blow out excess moisture. They can be sterilized in an unsweetened spirit, e.g. vodka!
3. Examine the reed for leakages down the sides of the blade. There should not be an air or light gap down the side, especially lower than half-way down the scraped part of the blade. If there is, it can often be sealed by wrapping a small piece of gold beater's skin round the reed. The transparent 'Cling Wrap' food wrapping foil can often be used for this purpose.
4. See illus. 3. Assemble reed, staple and pirouette and fit on the shawm. The separate reed and staple type is the authentic one, even for small shawms, although nowadays oboe-type reeds (reeds permanently fixed to staple) are supplied. Try not to grip the blades of the reed too hard when fitting the assembly together. The separate type of reed is at an advantage here in that the staple or crook and pirouette can be put together on to the shawm before the reed is added. I have made a small reed like this for a soprano pommer but it is trickier to make than the integral oboe-type.



Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century

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5. Ensure there is an airtight fit between staple and instrument bore, reed and staple and also preferably between pirouette and staple. If a reed does not fit on to the staple, some cane must be reamed out from inside the reed. Cure leaks with turns of thread, 'Sellotape' or a spot of wax.
6. For general good control, the top of the pirouette needs to come up to the adjusting wire of the reed (see fig. 4. If the reed or staple needs to be pushed into the

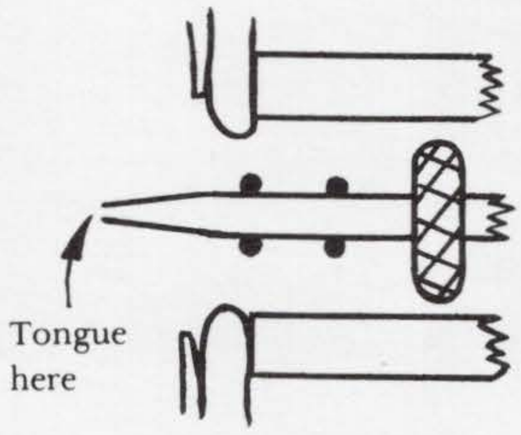

Fig. 3

shawm (to raise the pitch), or is so short that the staple comes further up the reed than the wire, then a shorter pirouette may be required. Mersenne gives for an alto shawm a pirouette total length of 6.5cm (2 inch 5 lines in the old Brunswick system) and Talbot (about 1696) gives detail for a treble (*Shalmei*) reed as: $\frac{1}{2}''$ wide at tip, $1\frac{1}{4}''$ long and $\frac{1}{4}''$ inside pirouette, i.e. $1''$ exposed (in mouth).

The pirouette on a Nicolo or basset shawm can be reamed out to sit further down the crook and hence reveal more reed. Different reed designs may require different pirouette lengths (to play at the right pitch, etc.), so unless you have settled on a particular design, a collection of different pirouettes may be useful. I have five (made from corks) for my soprano pommer. On a Nicolo, or basset, the pirouette may need to encroach further down towards the top of the reed than on soprano and alto instruments. This may need to be determined by personal experiment.
7. To adjust pitch. (a) If flat, push the staple or crook further into its socket or push the reed further on to the crook. (b) Try a different length of pirouette. The nearer your lips are to the top of the reed the flatter will be the pitch (at constant breath pressure, etc.). Remember that, to sharpen, push in and/or use shorter pirouette; to flatten, pull out and/or use a longer pirouette.
8. Reed-gap adjustment. Step 7 assumes that the reed is itself adjusted correctly. The opening of the gap at the top should be adjusted for best tone rather than pitch,. although it does have an effect on pitch. If the gap is very open, the sound will be loud, bright, flat in pitch and will require high breath pressure to play. If too closed, it will be sharper, quiet and weak, especially on low and cross-fingered notes and may tend to 'stall' at high breath pressures. The gap alters as the reed is soaked so adjustment should only ever be made on a wet reed (this also minimizes the risk of splitting). To close the gap, squeeze the wire (just below the scraped part of the reed) with fingers or pliers on the centre line of the blades of the reed *or* squeeze the lower wire or staple top along the edges. Do the opposite to open the gap (see fig. 4). A very small

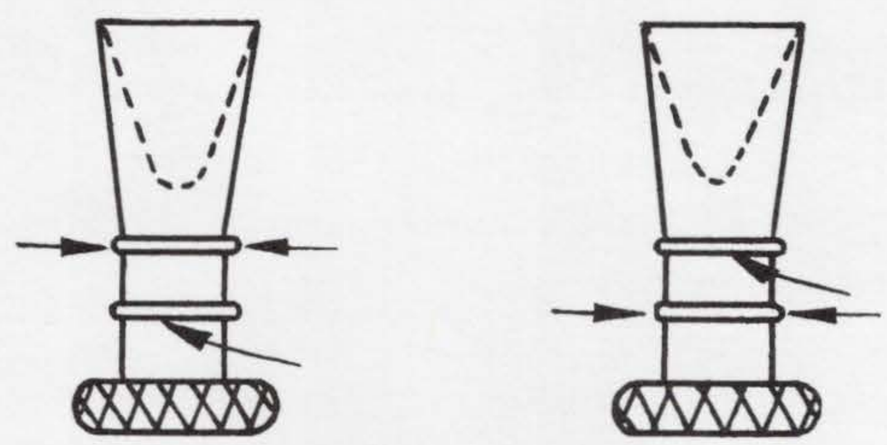

Fig. 4

adjustment causes a large change. The gap should be adjusted for optimum tone and response whereas pitch should be adjusted using crook and pirouette settings as in step 7 above. The gap may close up during a long playing session, especially after much second-octave work, causing a sharpening in pitch and weaker tone. To remedy, open the gap using the adjusting wire. Remember that you may have to reverse this when you next come to use the reed, so it is preferable to change to a fresh reed. If a reed gives a poor tonal response at any gap setting, if new, it probably needs scraping (see any text-book on the oboe for the general principles of reed-making technique—Moeck supply a good introductory pamphlet on the subject). If the reed is old there are four levels of treatment of increasing severity: internal cleaning, re-scraping, softening in peroxide, and throwing away. Do not forget to check for and cure gaps down the side of the reed first!
9. In general, fan (V) shaped reeds give bright tone but can be less stable, cigar butt (U) shaped reeds give fatter but softer tone (more plummy), and are easier to control on some makes of shawms (e.g. German makes, Moeck and Körber).

Embouchure

Having soaked the reed, adjusted its gap, assembled the crook, reed and pirouette, you are ready to play. There are two basic embouchures: uncontrolled and controlled. Both have their uses, so I will deal with the simplest first.

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Press both lips against the pirouette surface. To do this without looking at your feet you will have to hold the instrument up at an angle of 45° or higher, unless the instrument has a bent staple (crook). Holding the instrument up and keeping the elbows away from the rib cage will help make for good uninhibited blowing. Naturally the weight of the instrument, especially in the bell section, is a limiting factor here. The lips should make an airtight seal against the pirouette surface *without* touching the reed. Blow hard from the diaphragm and tongue the reed on the bottom edge of the tip (fig. 4). If no sound results, check for leaks down the sides of the reed, re-soak the reed, adjust its gap or blow harder. The wider the opening of the gap, the harder you will have to blow.

Using this embouchure (if it merits the name) you may need to allow your cheeks to puff out. You are playing the reed virtually as it is on a crumhorn or rauschpfeife, i.e. completely free. If the reed is adjusted correctly, you will have the freest, brightest, loudest, most uninhibited sound that your shawm can produce. This is what is required for outdoor dances and fanfares, or to quote Mersenne (1635), 'for weddings, for village festivals, and for other public celebrations, because of the great noise that they make and the great harmony that they render, for they have the strongest and most violent tone of all the instruments, except for the trumpet'. Drayton (1613) concurs with this impression: 'E'en from the shrillest shawm unto the cornamute'. If a note tends to be out of tune either change fingering, if it is cross-fingered, or adjust the breath pressure to correct the intonation. To obtain notes in the second octave simply blow harder—the first overblown note may require an extra push or kick from the diaphragm at the moment of tonguing. This is fine as far as it goes and is adequate for many purposes *but*

a) If you have much second-octave work your diaphragm will become tired very fast. This becomes less of a problem with practice. Elyot (1533) remarks that sackbuts and shawms 'requyre moche wynde' and consequently benefit the 'entrails whiche be undernethe the mydriffe'.

b) The tone may be uneven—cross-fingered notes may be weaker than the others.

c) Some notes may be unstable or quite out of tune.

d) The technique is generally unsuited for playing indoors, accompanying choirs and playing polyphonic music. The writer of the 16th-century Leckingfield proverbs points out in proverb XVIII:

'A shawme makithe a swete sound for he tunyth basse,
it mountithe not to hy but kepithe rule and space
yet yf it be blowne withe a vehement wynde
it makithe it to mysgouerne oute of its kynde.'

To overcome these problems, a more sophisticated embouchure is required. Place your lips on the reed and continue playing as before (fig. 5). Do not squeeze

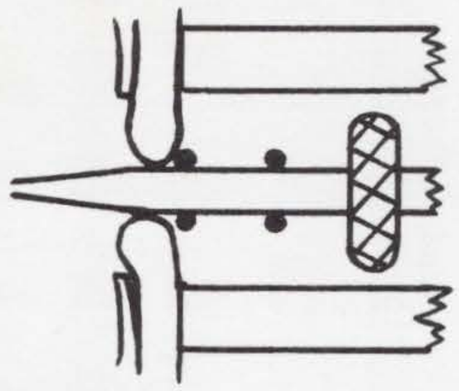

Fig. 5

or grip the reed at this stage. The teeth should not touch the reed but should be kept well apart so that the lips form a slight cushion between them and the reed; the tone will be only fractionally less free than before and the embouchure will suffice for most of the first octave. To obtain good tone on the lowest note you may have to revert to the 'lips off' embouchure. A slightly flat note, e.g. F♯ fingered 123/4––– can be 'humoured' up by *slightly* squeezing the reed between the lips whilst maintaining the same breath pressure.

To flatten a note, and to obtain bottom C♯ using the fingering for D, retract the lips from the pirouette towards the tip of the reed and relax the breath pressure. This may be done by moving only the bottom lip as in fig. 6—the general feeling is that of

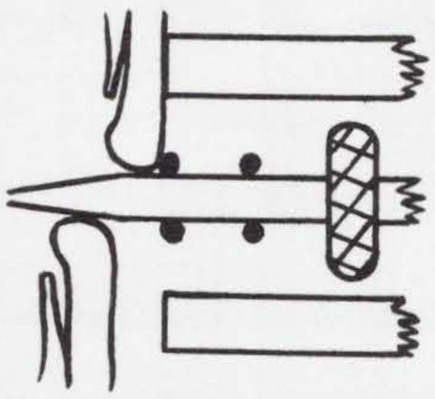

Fig. 6

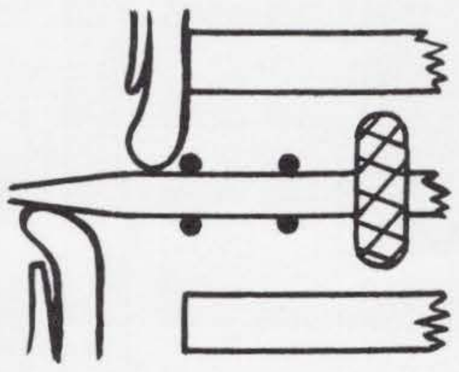

Fig. 7

lowering your chin whilst still keeping the lip on the reed. It is such control of pitch by positioning the lips along the reed that makes pirouette length critical. A pirouette that is too long will cause you to play flat, unless the reed is pinched with the lips giving a strangled tone, or a higher breath pressure is used. Either way flexibility suffers.

To play quietly, relax the breath pressure and re-establish pitch by sufficiently squeezing the reed. For long passages, adopt the bottom lip back position, curling the bottom lip over the teeth rather more than usual and squeezing the reed upwards, which will give a less strangled sound than just squeezing with both lips flush on the pirouette (see fig. 7). This position is

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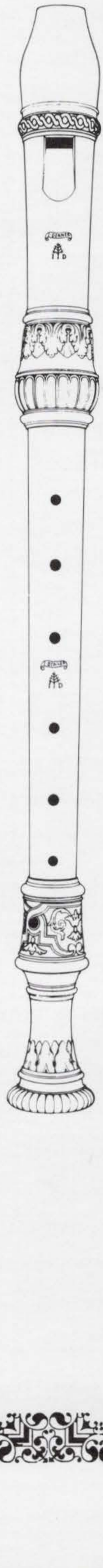


also good for passages in the second octave although the occasional high note is usually helped just by squeezing as in fig. 5 whilst the breath pressure is increased. A minute hole in the crook, especially on lower shawms, aids overblowing into the second octave as well as enriching the tonal spectrum of the bottom notes.

You have to find a balance for the amount of embouchure to apply between flexibility and control and the tone you are aiming for. Without a pirouette, you have no choice—you are forced to form an embouchure and to achieve a full loud tone you must use a wide-gapped reed with high breath pressure in which way the lips soon become 'smashed'. With a pirouette you can use a harder reed, you have a choice of how much embouchure to apply (if at all), the lips do not inadvertently slide about on the reed and you have in effect an extra ring of lip muscle to contain high breath pressures. The pirouette in no way prevents the tongue executing fast repeated notes, as some writers have claimed.

Summary of embouchure

1. Use a pirouette on smaller shawms.
2. Leave the reed free to vibrate, as unencumbered by the lips as possible, to obtain the brightest tone.
3. Humour poor notes, out-of-tune notes and the second octave with a slight embouchure.
4. For permanent loudness use a wide-gapped, short, broad reed and adjust pitch by means of high breath pressures, staple insertion and pirouette length.
5. For temporary loudness relax lip pressure and blow harder.
6. For permanent softness use a long narrow reed with small gap. Use low breath pressure and a long pirouette (or no pirouette).
7. For temporary softness relax the breath pressure, and squeeze the reed with the lips, perhaps retracting the bottom lip to form a bassoonist's embouchure.
8. 5 and 7 lead to good flexible playing.

Fingering

Several matters and tips for fingering can be listed as follows: (I refer to shawm pitched in C).

1) Renaissance shawms are designed to be held left or right hand uppermost by the use of dummy holes or swallowtail keys for the seventh finger.

2) Renaissance shawms did *NOT* have double holes for chromatics (like baroque oboes), as supplied by some modern makers.

3) Renaissance shawms did *NOT* have thumb holes, as supplied by some modern makers.

4) Try to keep cross-fingering to a minimum.

e.g. F♯ 123/4––– best tone but flat.
123/–56– weak
123/–5–7 sharp and a bit weak

5) E♭ is 123/45–7. This works better in the second octave than in the first where it is very sharp.

6) Some second octave fingerings are:

C –2–/–56–

C♯ –23/4567

D –23/456– or ↾23/456– (↾ = hole approximately half closed)

E ↾23/45––

7) Top G and A may be helped in stability and pitch by the addition of some lower hand fingers.

e.g. G 123––67
A 12––567

8) Different reeds may require different sets of cross-fingering.

9) A range of a twelfth on unextended shawms is sufficient for most purposes.

I hope my experience will be of use to aspiring shawm players.

I should like to thank John and Pat Hanchet, who have greatly helped my own playing and acted as sound boards for my theories and ideas on shawms and their music.

Robert Kindred

Jacques-François Rosart

A neglected pioneer of music printing

H. EDMUND POOLE

Though some of his shaded and decorated letters and fleurons are still in use—for the most part unacknowledged—the work of Jacques-François Rosart (1714-1777) is generally very little known today. During the middle years of the 18th century, however, he was acknowledged as one of the most skilful and prolific type-cutters in Europe. Born in Namur, the son of a goldsmith, he travelled to Holland when he was twenty-six and settled in Haarlem (1740). Here he worked with varying fortunes until 1759 when he left for Brussels and set up a foundry, which attracted the support of H.R.H. Duke Charles of Lorraine and brought him the prosperity which had eluded him in Holland.

The detail of Rosart's biography and of his professional achievement is told by Fernand Baudin in the introduction to a recently published facsimile of the Rosart specimen book of 1768.* The narrative is enriched by a mass of detail in footnotes, largely the work of the late Netty Hoeflake who, with her characteristic thoroughness, authenticated statements against original sources, and from the Enschedé archives in Haarlem assembled a great deal of supplementary detail about the type specimens issued by Rosart between 1740 and 1779 and about his relationships with the firm of Enschedé: all of which will be of permanent value.

Rosart is perhaps best remembered for his share in the development of typographical music printing. Mensural music was first printed from type by Ottaviano dei Petrucci in Venice in 1501, but his technique—which produced brilliant results—called for two or three passes of the paper through the press, so that notes, staves, words and other material were printed separately; but superimposed in correct position one on top of the other. This method remained in general use until John Rastell in London (*c* 1526) and Pierre Attaingnant in Paris (1528) independently started to use characters which incorporated a note head and stem, and a fractional part of a five-line stave system. The types showing notes were all the same width, but types carrying fractions of the stave system only, and used as spacing pieces between notes, were made in varying widths to enable the structure of the music to be reproduced faithfully.

ABCDEFG
HIJKLM
ART. Natus Namurci V. Id. Aug. 1714.
Sculpendis typis se dedit, nullo adhibito
Magistro. Solertiæ ejus Primitias habuit
Harlemum A° 1740 typos musicos executa
Vix possibiles eo usque creditos edidit A° 1749:
prioram Bruxellæ typorum fusuram posuit A° 1759.

1 *Rosart's portrait engraved by C. van Noorde in Haarlem (?1759) which faces the title page of the type specimen book of 1768. The open book above the oval frame and the inscription underneath it commemorate Rosart's skill in creating 'musical types, a feat which hitherto had been thought impossible to achieve A° 1749'.*

This technique persisted through the 16th, 17th, and, in some places, the 18th centuries; but although it was a great improvement on the 2/3 impression method it had grave shortcomings. The types were easily damaged; the stave lines—carried as they were across the type from edge to edge—were particularly vulnerable and were frequently rubbed and clipped during use. These defects gave the rows of type a disjointed appearance when they were printed. Attempts were made to break up this regimented parade of note, gap, note, gap, across the page. Types were cut to remove blank staves above or below the note head (perhaps both) and these fragments were replaced with pieces of metal rule spanning two, three or more, types that had been similarly trimmed. As a result the eye was carried along the line more smoothly. Another disadvantage of the one-note, one-type, system was that only the simplest chords could be set; and this only by cutting and 'fitting' types. This practice is to be seen in the 16th century and in more elaborate manifestations in the 17th—as for example in William Godbid's setting of Thomas Tomkins' *Musica deo sacra* (1668) cited by D. W. Krummel in his *English Music Printing 1553-1700*.[1] For these reasons, and because music itself was developing forms and traits which could not be reproduced satisfactorily in type, copperplate engraving and later (at the turn of the 17th/18th centuries) punching and engraving on pewter were used increasingly to originate music for printing. This trend and the high cost of engraving stimulated the typographers to fight back: Jacques-François Rosart, J. G. I. Breitkopf, J. M. Fleischman, P.-S. Fournier (le jeune) and Henric Fougt amongst them. Instead of perpetuating and refining the Rastell-Attaingnant system they considered the horizontal elements (stave lines) and vertical elements (note stems and barlines) and the note heads of the music all together. They perceived that the whole could be broken down into a grid of intersections which formed cells—some of which were occupied by notes and other symbols, some empty—with sides which were made from parts of a stave line, and parts of a note stem or barline. Breitkopf is usually credited with the development of this analysis into type during 1754-5. The Breitkopf type units were all cast on one body—'the fifth part of a complete set of stave lines'—but of varying widths. Fournier described the system in 1765. All the symbols which went to make this kind of music, he wrote, were formed to this dimension so that the clefs, the measures, the notes, and other characters which were necessarily larger than the body were made up of several pieces 'set skilfully one above the other. A note, for example, [was] made up of three and four pieces; a clef of two, the upper part formed by one punch, the lower part formed by another punch, and these parts joined together [formed] the character of the complete clef, etc.'[2] Breitkopf published a proof *Sonnet* in February 1755 and in April 1756 completed his first major work *Il trionfo della fedeltà*, a 'drama pastorale' in three volumes composed by E. T. P. A. (The Electress Maria Anna Walpurgis of Bavaria).

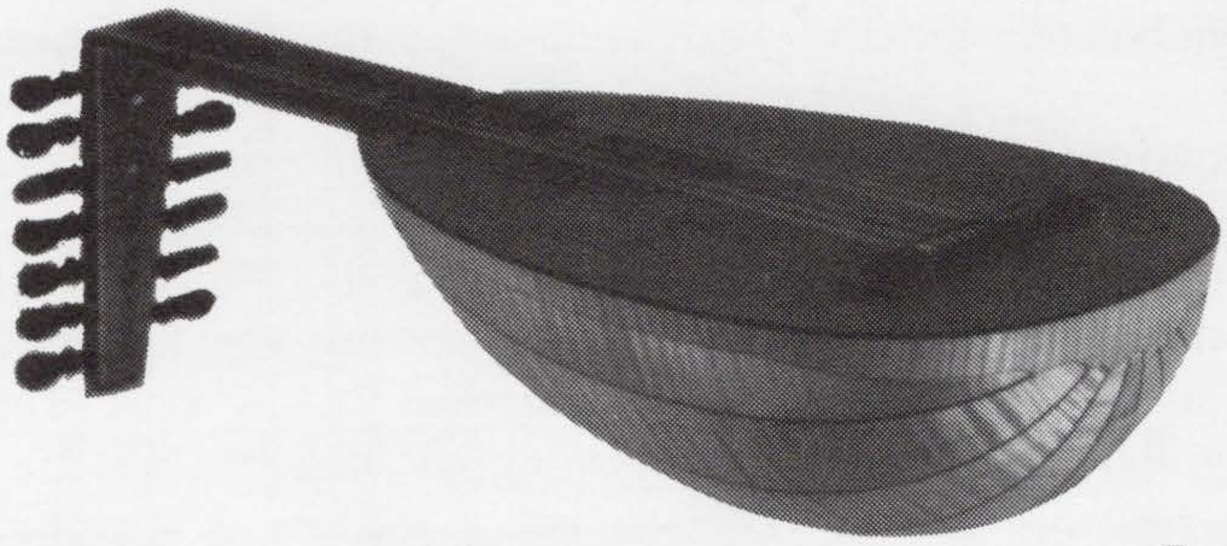
J. M. Fleischman, a brilliant German punch-cutter working with Johannes Enschedé I in Haarlem, was commissioned to copy the Breitkopf character, which he achieved during 1758-60.

Fournier cut types for two systems. The first (1756) required two passes through the press—one for the notes and one for the staves—to give a complete impression of the music. The other (1764) was a single impression music.

He described the logic of his music types in the *Manuel Typographique* (1764). Of his double impression music he wrote: 'Each component is adapted for casting on one of five bodies varying in size in a regular progression. The bodies determine the dimensions of the characters which are to be cast upon them. The interval between the lines is regulated by means of a rule cast on body No. 1—that is the smallest. Five of these rules tied together equal the maximum body, and serve to show the positions of the five lines of the staff which are the foundation of the whole structure.'[3] He then rehearses which of the characters are cast on which body. He makes provision for notes with stems of different lengths, for beams for joining the stems of notes in runs of consecutive semiquavers and smaller divisions. He also requires punches showing five lines to fit body No. 5. 'These lines should vary in length from the thickness of one note to that of five or six.'[4]

It may at first sight appear strange that Fournier should go to the length of making six different punches to produce nothing but blank stave lines when it would have been much simpler to use continuous metal rule cut to required lengths. In fact it was only by basing every piece in his synopsis upon a given unit—in this case the rule cast on body No. 1 for depth and the thickness of a note for width—that he could hope to ensure that when the notes and other symbols were printed down on to the already printed staves they would fall in their correct positions.

His second music (1764)—for single impression—was cast on five bodies but, unlike the 1756 music,



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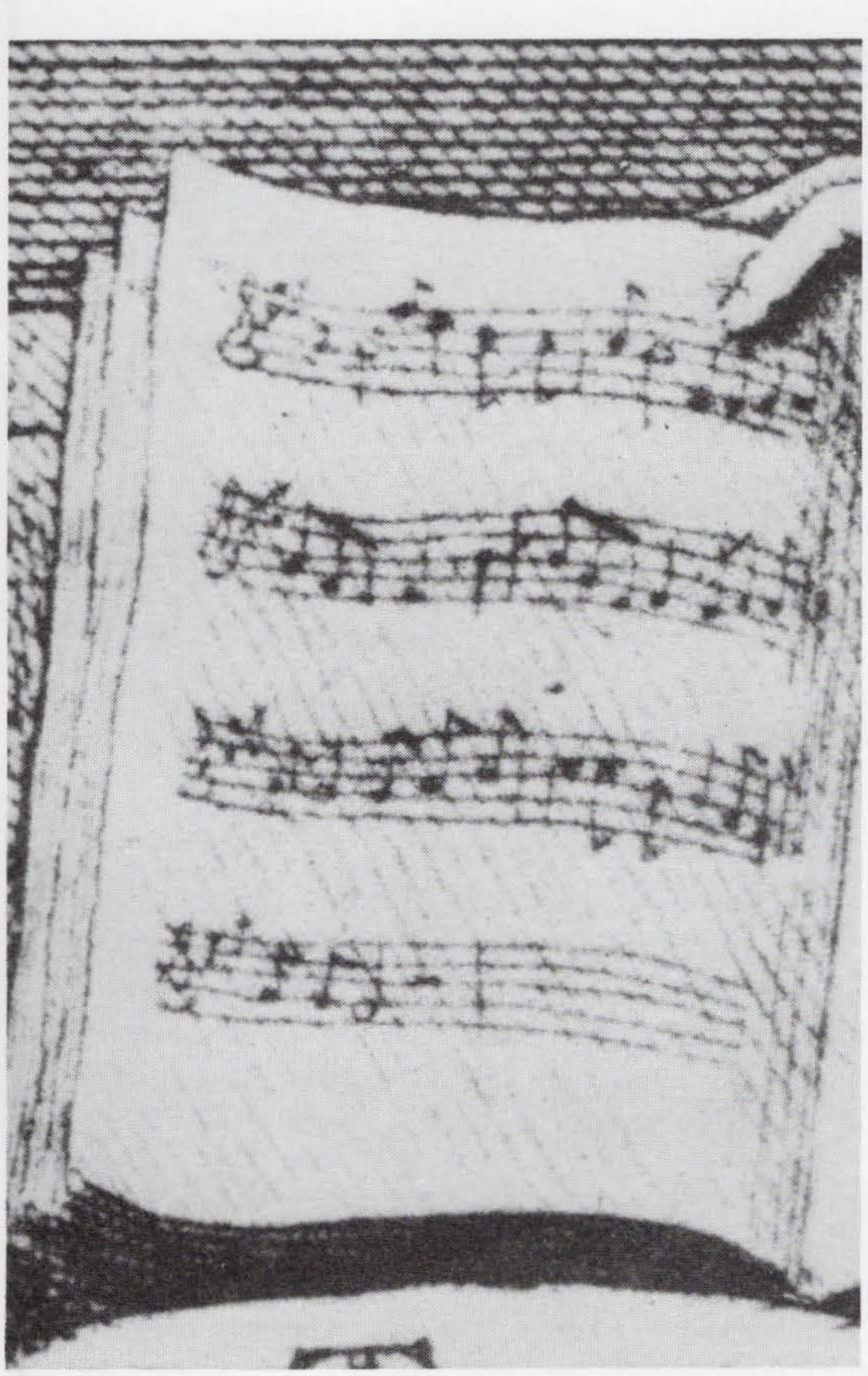
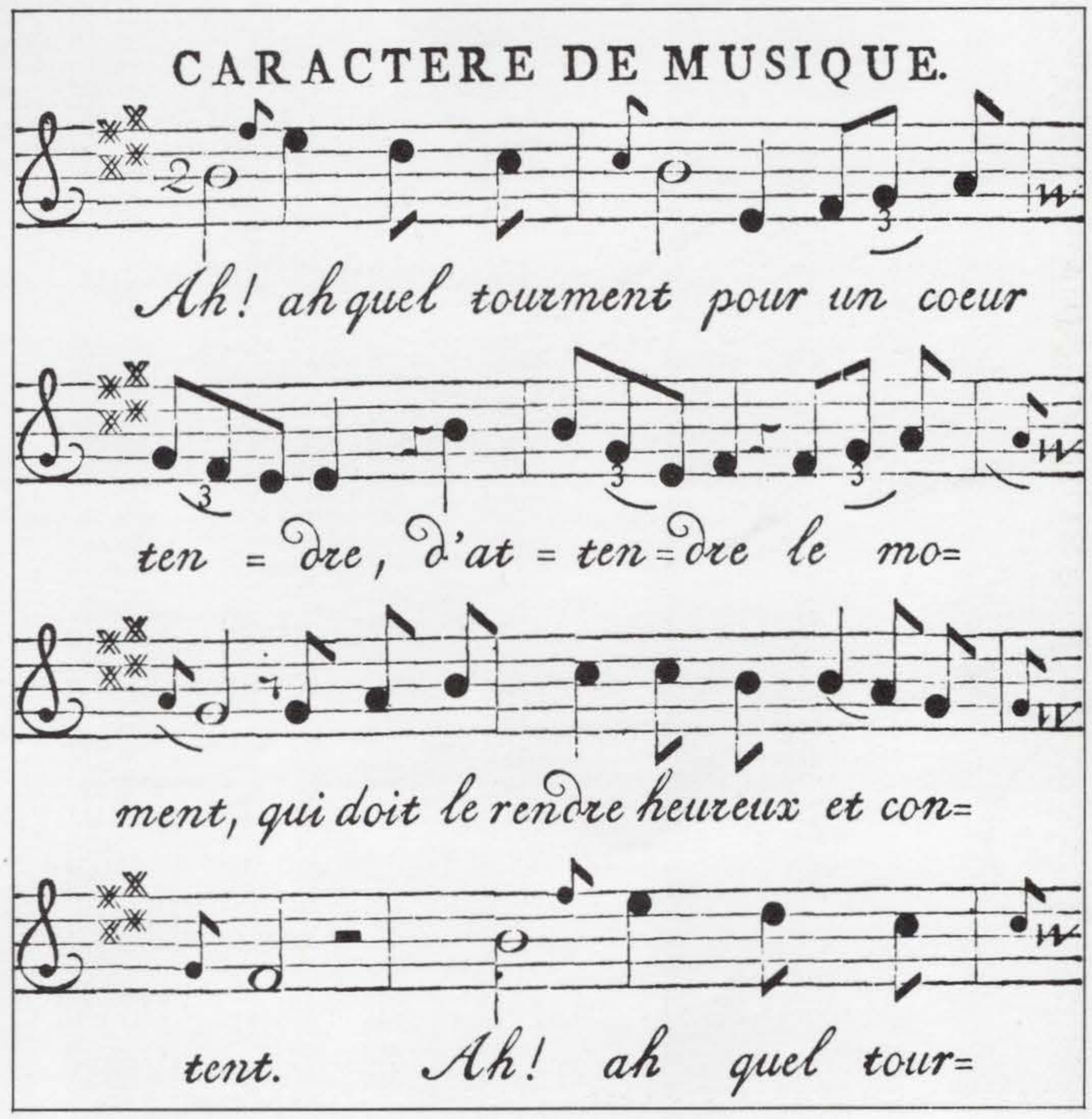
parts of stems, stave lines and barlines were incorporated with note heads so that complete systems with notes and staves could be assembled from the several separate pieces. For example: in one form an open note head was cast with part of a stave line within it and nothing else [body 1]. In another form a similar note head was cast with part of a note stem and fractions of two additional stave lines attached [body 3]. In the first form the note head would require the addition of two identical characters each bearing increments of stem and fractions of two stave lines, cast on body 2, to complete the full span of the stave system [body 5]. In the second form only one character, cast on body 2, would be required for completion.

Curiosity is usually satisfied with this kind of roll-call of 18th-century punch-cutters for music—with a nod in the direction of Henric Fougt who (1764) developed a single-impression music based on Breitkopf's system and exploited it in England (1767-70); and Rosart, who, after a promising start, fell by the wayside. Unfortunately in that part of his introduction dealing with music printing (pages 22–3) M. Baudin not only repeats the long discredited statement that Haultin was in some way associated with Attaingnant 'around 1528' in the introduction of single-impression music but neglects the real and significant achievement of Rosart in this field.

A claim for Rosart's absolute precedence in the matter of devising a method of printing music from interchangeable type units on a common press appeared first as part of an inscription under his portrait engraved by C. van Noorde where it is stated that in 1749 Rosart 'created music types, a feat which hitherto had been believed impossible to achieve'. The portrait is undated but was probably engraved 'as early as 1759, shortly before Rosart left Haarlem for Brussels and the latest moment van Noorde could do Rosart's portrait from the life'.[5] The artist arranged his subject in an oval supported on either side by a figure, one of whom is holding above Rosart's head an open

left 2 *An enlargement of the music shown on the left-hand opening, to view, of the book reproduced in van Noorde's portrait (?1759). The music is the same as that shown in the specimen books of 1761 and 1768 which suggests that proofs of the music were in circulation some time before the specimen books were issued.*

below 3 *Part of the showing of the 'Caractere de Musique' at sig. M of the 1768 specimen book. The structure of the music is clear, particularly under magnification. The music is reproduced in the same size as the original.*


CARACTERE DE MUSIQUE.
Ah! ah quel tourment pour un coeur
ten = dre, d'at = ten = dre le mo=
ment, qui doit le rendre heureux et con=
tent. Ah! ah quel tour=

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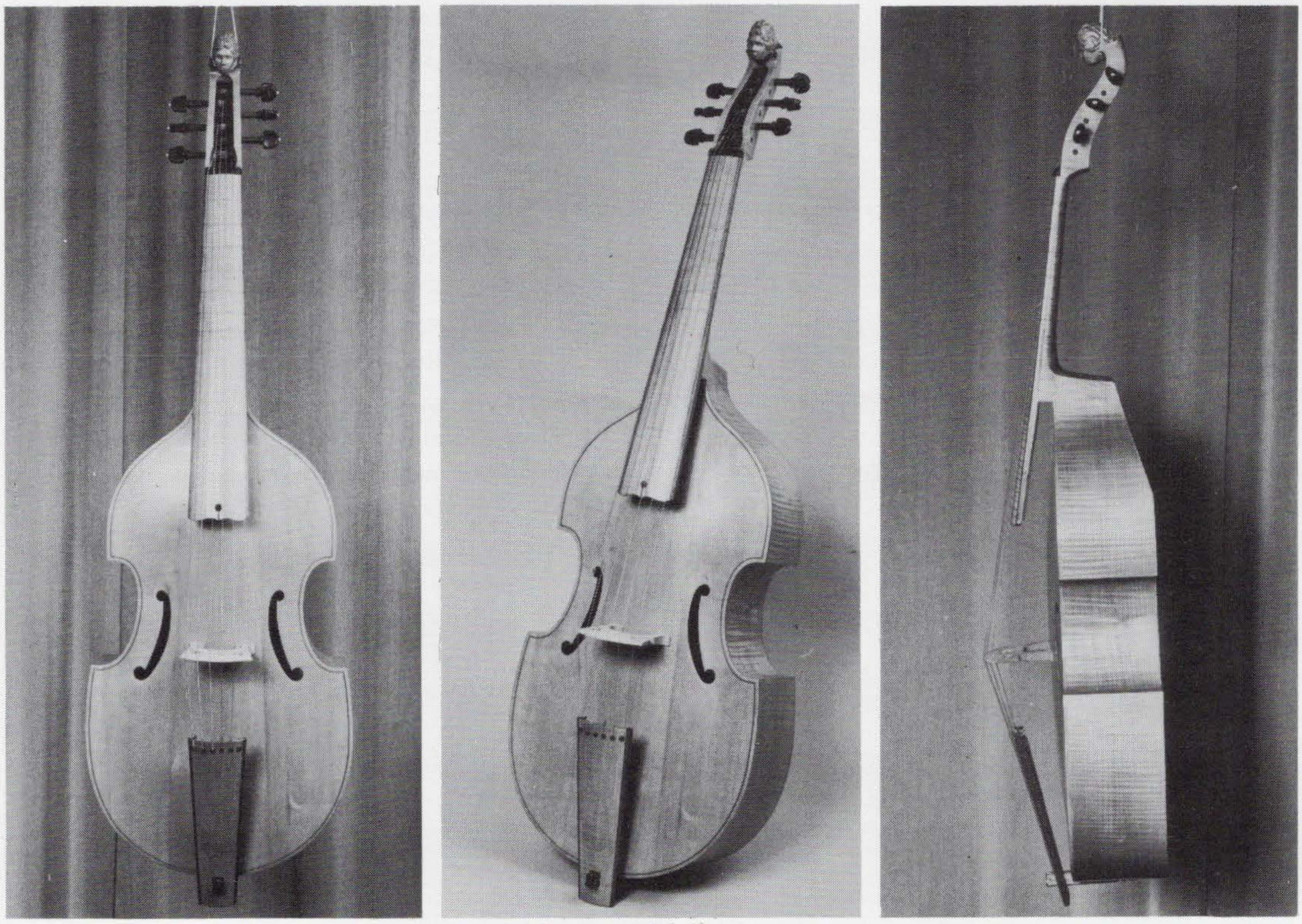

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book displaying on the left three and a half lines of miniature music and on the right rows of letters representative of the styles in which Rosart cut. The portrait was used as a frontispiece to Rosart's specimen books of 1761 and 1768, where the music of the open book is shown extended to eight lines as a song, 'Ah! ah quel tourment. . . .' (sig. M. 1768). A script letter 'Double Desendiaan ou Philosophie Caractère de Finance' appears on the following leaf in the 1768 specimen and printed under it is a statement that the letter was first cut in 1753 on a different body size ('le double Mediaan ou Cicero') 'for use with the music which J. F. Rosart invented and gave to the Public on 3 January 1750'. The same leaf with the same statement also appears in the specimen of 1761.

The music types on the Breitkopf pattern which Enschedé had commissioned from Fleischman were first used in the *Haerlemse Zangen* (the *Haarlem Songs*), a splendid book, published in 1761. In the foreword Isaak and Johannes Enschedé wrote as follows about Rosart's music type: '. . . The first inducement to undertake this enterprise and to bring it to perfection was given to us, some nine or ten years ago, when a certain letter-cutter in this town, who cut some titlings, etc., for our foundry, strived after cutting and casting a complete music fount with its notes and characters and furthermore to printing them on an ordinary printing press: He made a beginning and showed us a specimen of his device; but there was rather much to be improved. He gave up his attempt and let the matter rest at the stage of the aforesaid specimen.'[6] It was then that Fleischman was approached and after finishing other types already in hand he spent more than two years cutting the music, which he completed in 1760.

It is to be observed that both the *Haerlemse Zangen* and Rosart's music specimen first appeared in 1761. In February 1762 the *Journal de Commerce et d'Agriculture* of Brussels drew attention to a news item from Haarlem which had appeared (at page 195) in the *Journal Etranger* for January 1761.

If the claim of Haarlem to be the place where printing was invented could be contested, the writer in the *Journal Etranger* had said, 'two printers, Isaac and Jean Enschedé, hope at least to have the glory of a new typographical invention. . . . They have discovered the way to print music as books are printed. . . .'[7]

The *Journal de Commerce* commented that this statement published in such a respected periodical might well have 'assured to MM Enschedé of Haarlem the untroubled possession of the glory of an invention which did not belong to them. This glory is the greatest reward of the artist. M. Rosart claims it and affirms that he has in his hands titles to his property.' The Rosart music specimen ('Ah, ah quel tourment . . .') was folded in facing page 142.

In his *Manuel Typographique* (1764) Fournier noted that Rosart—for whom he had a great regard—had claimed in his specimen of 1761 and 'last year' in the *Gazette de Bruxelles* that he was the inventor of music types of the pattern announced by Breitkopf in 1755. Fournier had asked Rosart why he had been so tardy in claiming the glory of the invention. Rosart had replied that 'private reasons had prevented earlier publication of his character which he had started in 1750 in Haarlem, where he had shown many proofs of it'.

There was a great deal of typographical music circulating in the Low Countries during the 17th and early 18th centuries and Rosart can hardly have been so unaware of it as to be able to claim that his method of music printing from type was the first—unless he had in fact solved the problem of deriving notes, stems and staves from interchangeable type pieces based on one common unit. Are there any signs of this in the material that has survived?

The classic treatment of the history of type in the Low Countries is to be found in *Fonderies de caractères et leur matériel dans les Pays-Bas du XVe au XIXe siècle* by Charles Enschedé (1908). On pages 242–5 he describes the fortunes of music type which Rosart offered to Johannes Enschedé in 1750. He writes that the Enschedé archives contain two proofs of typographical music annotated in the hand of J. Enschedé: on one he had written 'specimen of the music invented by Rosart' and on the other 'this character was invented and engraved by J. F. Rosart in 1750'. Charles Enschedé continues, 'moreover the original specimen of the characters of the script type which was offered to Enschedé before he had decided to buy the matrixes states: "This character was invented to be used with the music invented and engraved by J. F. Rosart in 1750." And Enschedé (J) wrote on it in his own hand "1753", that is to say the date when he received the specimen.' Charles Enschedé also had the good fortune to find 'some of the punches which had been used to make the matrixes in which Rosart had cast the music characters of his specimen.'[8]

He examined the punches and the secret was made clear. 'Rosart printed his music at two impressions. First the staves and afterwards the notes and signs. It was in the true sense of the word an ingenious beginning, but a difficult beginning. Casting and composition alike were very complicated and printing,

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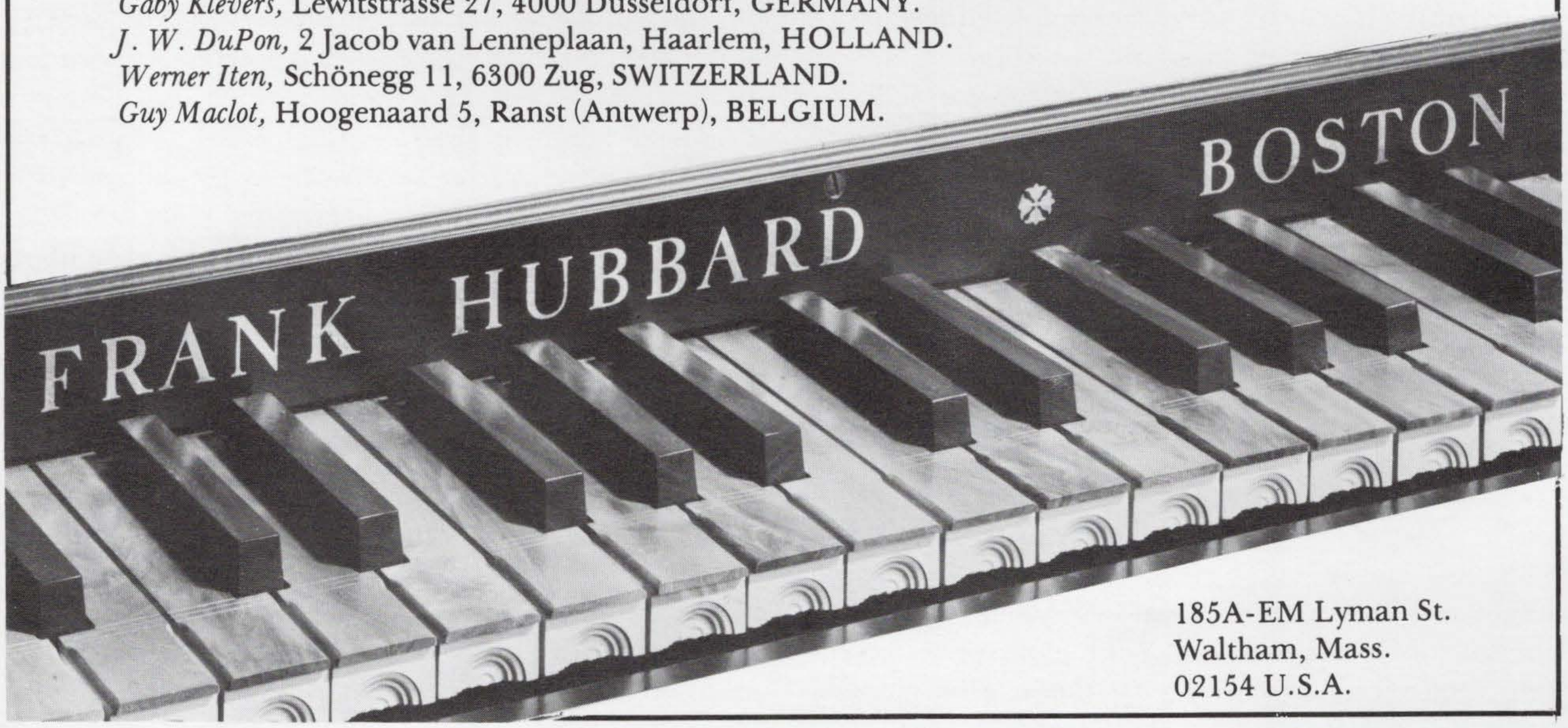

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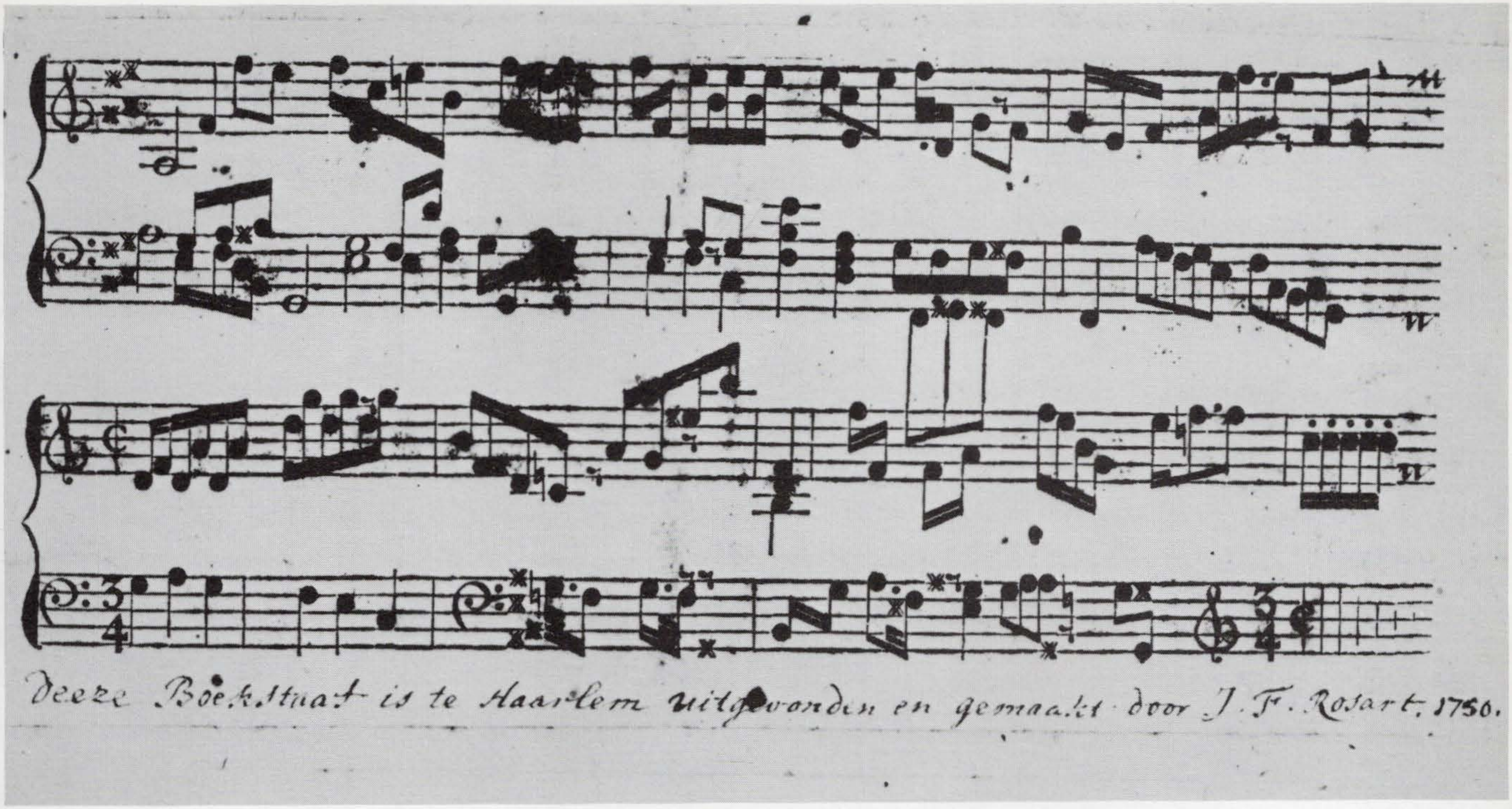
4 *The proof offered to J. Enschedé in 1750. (Copyright, Joh. Enschedé en Zonen, Haarlem.)*

considering the means available for making register, extremely ticklish.'

Charles Enschede shows[9] impressions of the music punches 'engraved and invented in 1750 by J. F. Rosart at Haarlem' [fig. 329]; and then, within the limits of the sorts available, demonstrates how the material was arranged to complete the music which appears in 'the specimen which J. F. Rosart offered to Joh. Enschedé in 1753': first continuous rules for the staves [fig. 330], second, the notes and other signs [fig. 331] and then the notes and staves combined [fig. 332].

The music in the specimen books of 1761 and 1768 and in a unique proof loosely inserted in the copy of the 1761 specimen book in the St Bride Printing Library, London,[10] was printed at one impression. The note heads are cast integrated with varying amounts of stem and with the appropriate fractions of stave lines attached: other sorts, note tails, fractions of stave lines and note stems for example, are cut to work with the note heads to build up complete systems, much as Fournier designed his second music which he described in 1764, in the *Manuel Typographique*.

As far as can be judged from a photograph of the proof given by Rosart to Joh. Enschedé, who dated it 1750, from printed impressions of the material for the 1750 type shown by Charles Enschedé, and from Rosart's own specimens, the basic dimensions of the characters which appear in all the three sources correspond. Are there any other common features?

In addition to the characters illustrated by Charles Enschedé in *Fonderies* (p. 244), at least three more punches have survived in the Enschedé collections: two showing five stave lines—one set approximately twice as wide as the other—and a sign for a sharp in the style of the day. The stave line punches are perfectly well cut yet a photograph of the 1750 specimen shows the staves to be strangely irregular. This is surprising because Rosart was regarded in his day as a notable cutter of fleurons, or flowers, small decorative units which could be assembled in a variety of ways to produce attractive patterns. There are many examples shown in his specimen books (1761 and 1768) and although minor irregularities may be traced in some of the horizontal lines, in others the units are combined with praiseworthy regularity.

Close examination of the photograph of the 1750 proof reveals that, as well as being up and down here and there, the stave lines vary in thickness along the systems: they often thin out where they approach note stems. Moreover the stave line disappears altogether

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behind some double beams which cross the systems at an angle. This would be unexpected in two-impression printing.

The surviving punch for the sharp is made with a horizontal line through the centre of the cross. This is used in the 1750 specimen and appropriately in the single-impression specimens of 1761 and 1768.

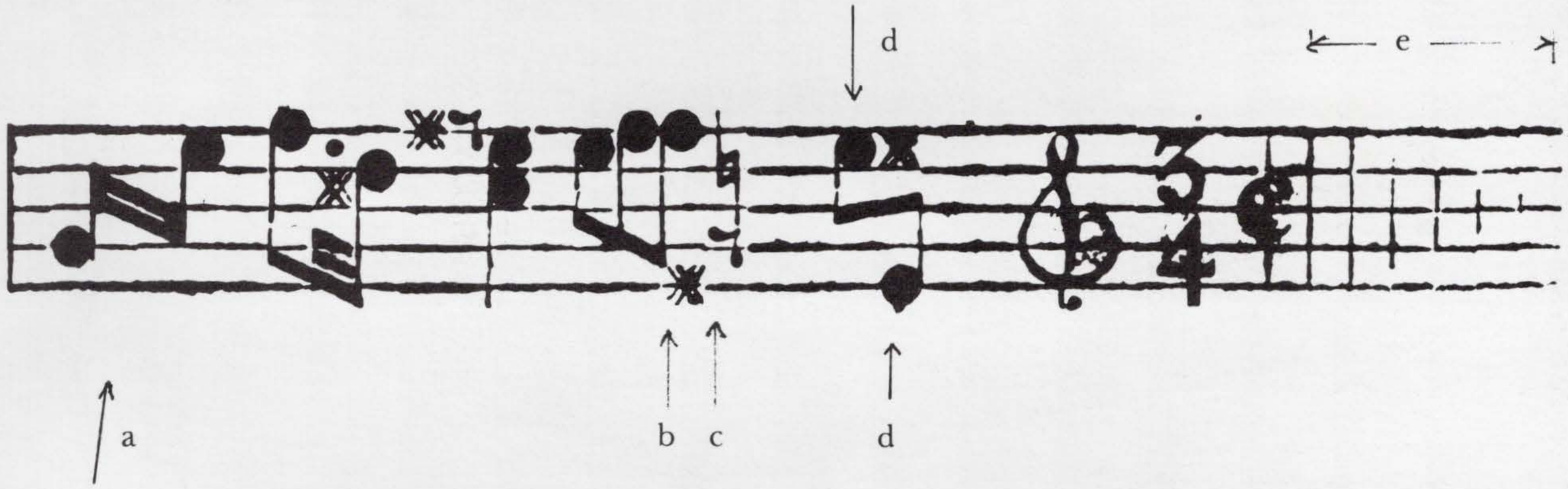
During 1965 Netty Hoeflake, the curator of the Enschedé Museum at Haarlem drew the writer's attention to two punches each showing a note head and part stem combined with fractions of three stave lines. They could not be assigned with confidence to Fleischman: apart from the fact that they lacked the finish and authority of his work, certain of their dimensions did not conform with Fleischman's system. She indicated other features which suggested that the punches might not be genuine, but concluded 'How is it possible that unfinished Fleischman punches are in the possession of Enschedé's, as Fleischman worked at home?'

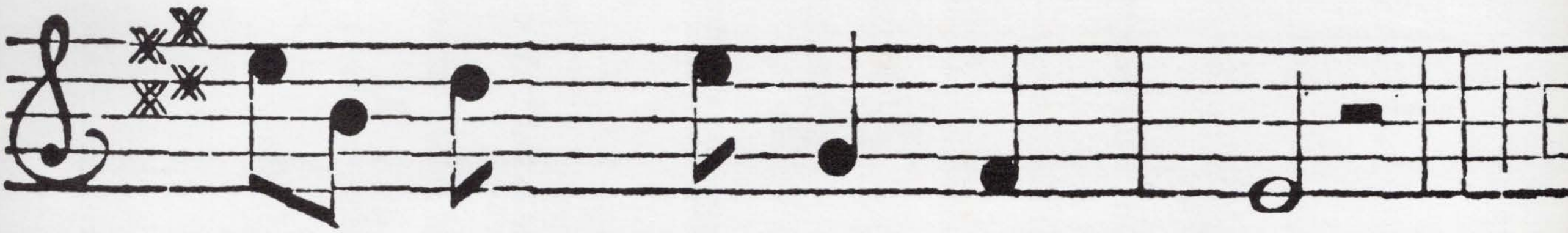
Perhaps the punches are not by Fleischman at all? Once this doubt has been raised it becomes possible to review all the Haarlem material attributed to Rosart from a different view point.

The drift of the evidence suggests that there was more than bombast in Rosart's claim that he was the first to devise a system for assembling music from single interchangeable types and printing it on an ordinary printing press at a single impression. The indications in the proof authenticated by Joh. Enschedé in 1750 all point in this direction. The variation in the thickness of stave lines, the presence in the Rosart collection of a punch for a sharp sign bearing a fraction of a single stave line and of two punches bearing full sets of stave lines have already been mentioned: so has the absence of a stave through the space between double beams crossing stave systems at an angle.

Close examination of a photograph of the 1750 proof under magnification reveals other telling phenomena. Some of the beams are cast with fragments of note stem attached. Reiterated notes appearing between lines bear fragments of stave above and below the note head, but the staves are not continuous. Leger lines are broken on each side of a note head. Fractions of stem and staves are cast on some noteheads.

Unfortunately the proof dated 1750 and the specimens printed in 1761 and 1768 do not show the same piece of music so it is impossible to make direct comparisons between them; but the typographical



5 *Part of the last line of the proof (Fig. 4) magnified ×2. Apart from the general irregularity of the stave systems there are special points of interest:* a, *the absence of a stave line passing through the two beams crossing the system at an angle;* b, c, *the sharp and rest cast with their own fragments of stave line;* d, *note heads cast with fragments of stem designed to join the fragments of stem cast at the ends of a transverse beam;* e, *an assembly of independent angular pieces.*

6 *Part of the last line of the 1768 music specimen enlarged to the same size as part of the 1750 proof (Fig. 5). A comparison of the basic forms shown in the two reproductions clearly reveals that the finished music had its origins in the proof of 1750.*

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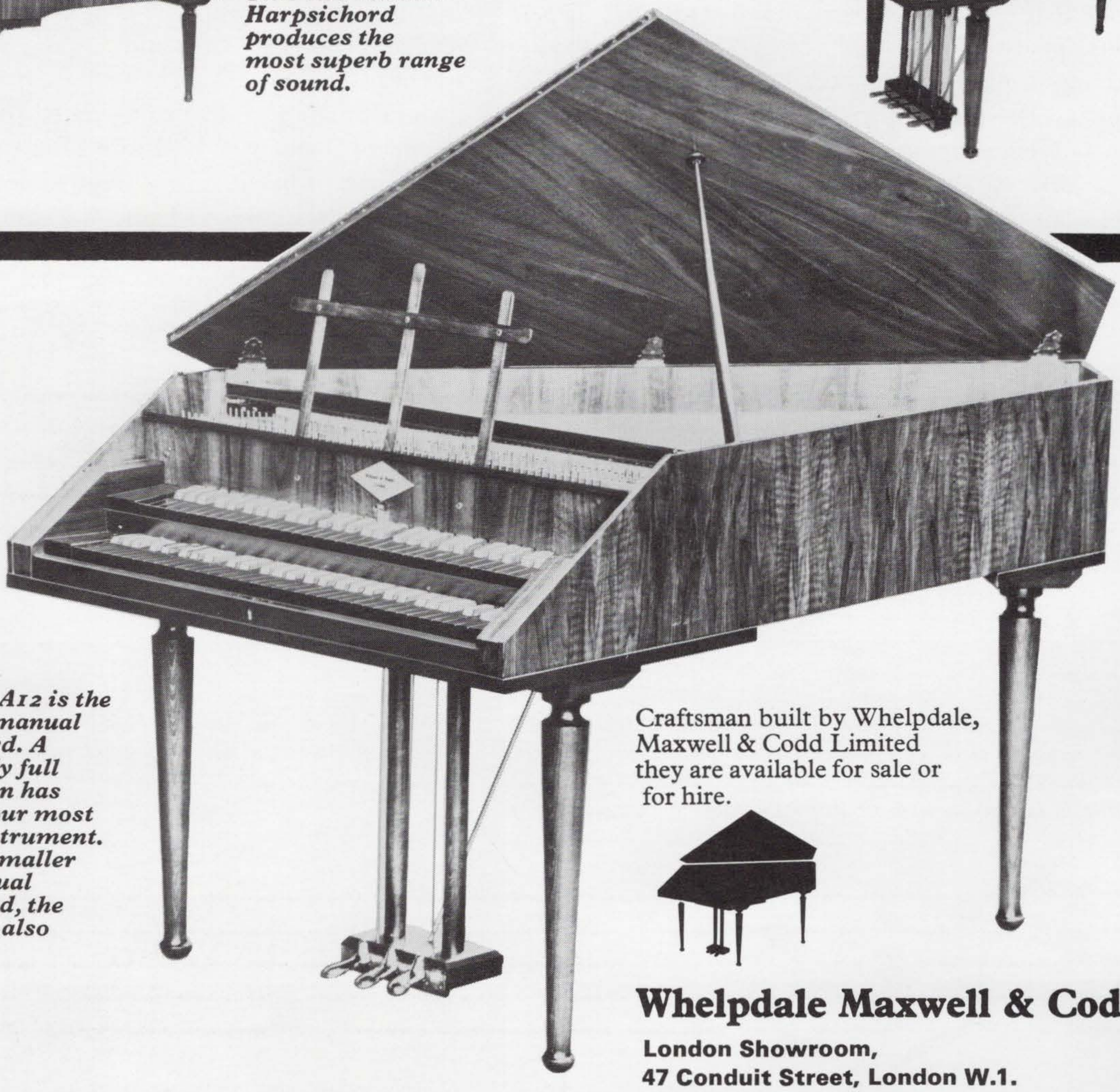

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structures are sufficiently alike to bear a suggestion that the printed versions are derived from the characters shown in the proof of 1750.

What then was the purpose of the material shown by Charles Enschedé in *Fonderies*? No doubt it served the same purpose as Fournier's first music: to establish size and scale, to assess and solve technical difficulties, to calculate the synopsis of punches and the like—all for a single-impression music.

The evidence suggests that by 1750 Rosart had achieved a workable system of typographical music printing at one impression. Breitkopf started his experiments in 1754 and announced his success in 1755. Fournier worked from double- to single-impression music between 1756 and 1764. Why, given this start, did the firm of Enschedé not encourage Rosart to develop further along the lines of his 'ingenious beginning' of 1750? They may not have felt the need for a new and elaborate music type which might well prove difficult and expensive to use. Perhaps they did not have confidence in Rosart's skill to produce a first-class fount. It is true that they ordered from him type cut in large sizes, but, writes M. Baudin (p. 20), 'they would never allow him to cut small sizes of type; for that they preferred Fleischman'. It was natural, therefore, that the Enschedés should call upon this same trusted artist to answer the challenge of Breitkopf's music. Rosart continued to develop his own music independently in Brussels. It was complete—with a synopsis of 336 characters—in 1764.

It is to be regretted that M. Baudin himself did not undertake a rigorous examination of the evidence; the exercise might well have tempered his dismissive attitude to the achievements of a fellow countryman;[11] one, moreover, who has not received at the hands of typographical historians the appreciation that his merit deserves.

H. Edmund Poole is writing a history of music printing for Faber and has contributed the entry on the subject to The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.

* *The Type Specimen of Jacques-François Rosart. Brussels 1768*. A facsimile with an Introduction and notes by Fernand Baudin and Netty Hoeflake. Van Gendt & Co., Amsterdam (1972) Routledge & Kegan Paul, London (1973) 82 pp. Introduction: 76 pages facsimile. £10.

1 The Bibliographical Society (London, 1975), p. 99.

2 *Traité historique et critique sur l'origine et les progrès des caractères de fonte pour l'impression de la musique* (Paris, 1765), p. 22.

3 *Fournier on Typefounding. The text of the Manuel Typographique.* 1764–1766. Translated into English and edited with notes by Harry Carter. New edition 1973. Pages 68, 69 quoted with the permission of Mr Carter.

4 ibid, p. 69.

5 *The Type Specimen of J.-F. Rosart* (1768) Introduction p. 81 fn. 2.

6 ibid, p. 23 fn. 1.

7 *Journal de Commerce* . . . p. 141.

8 *Fonderies* . . . p. 244.

9 ibid, pp. 244-245.

10 Where the song 'Ah! ah quel tourment' has been laid out in oblong format, and appears to greater advantage than in the comparatively narrow measure of the specimen books. A contemporary hand has authenticated the proof 'Rosart' in pencil.

11 This is all the more remarkable because M. Baudin records (p. 22) that 'In 1749 [Rosart] cut a series of punches in which the notes and other signs were subdivided into elements which permitted the most varied combinations, and presented it to the firm of Enschedé in 1750', but he does not go back to the original material to make himself aware of the significance of what he has written.

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A learner's questions

IMOGEN HOLST

AT THE DURHAM ORIENTAL
MUSIC FESTIVAL

When my friend John M. Thomson asked me to write an article for *Early Music* my immediate thought was to say 'No', because I am far too ignorant. But then I realized that if he would allow me to choose the subject of 'A learner's questions' it would give me an excellent chance of getting reliable answers about some of the things that I am wanting to know. It is true that during the last few years the volumes of *Early Music* have been brimful of scholarly and fascinating information; more than enough to keep the most insatiable of learners sitting quietly for week after week and month after month. But the questions I now want to ask are the result of having attended the Oriental Music Festival at Durham University in August 1976.

The Festival was a thrilling experience. The University Music School opened its doors to us so that we could explore the reference library of books on oriental music and could listen to recordings. In our hall of residence, just across the road from the Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art, we could meet some of the singers, players and dancers who had come from many different countries to take part in the concerts. Three of the events stand out most clearly in my memory: Trân Van Khe's beautiful singing of two sad love songs from Vietnam (one from the south followed by one from the north), the superb drumming of Dariush Talai from Iran, and the lecture given by Jean Jenkins on 'The Music of Ethiopia'. In this we were shown a slide of Ethiopian priests in their church, dancing in front of the altar as they sang the service. I was reminded of my father's *The Hymn of Jesus*, with its energetic 5/4 *Allegro* at the words 'Ye who dance not, know not what we are knowing'.

This was one of several reminders of the links between East and West, and some of us found it difficult not to get over-excited. We were warned about it in a lecture given by John Levy on 'The Music of Bhutan and Tibet', when he sternly told us that 'this business of looking for influences is one of the curses of musicology'. But we couldn't help noticing the occasional similarities, when our ears were suddenly greeted by sounds that insisted on being recognized. For instance, there was a recording of an Islamic duet for two flutes in which the second flute played long-held notes, one after another, like a movable drone, while the first flute soared above his partner with quicker notes in freely flowing phrases. The combined sounds were startlingly reminiscent of the 12th-century

Playing the satara (two-duct flute) to accompany singing in Baluchistan, Pakistan.
Photographs by courtesy of Jean Jenkins

Trân Van Khe playing the Vietnamese fiddle (left); the zarb (goblet drum), Teheran (right).

melismatic organum *Cunctipotens genitor* from Santiago de Compostela, which some of us first met in 1946 in the *Harvard Anthology*. I have often wondered how those Spanish monks managed to invent such an unexpected technical device as chanting in augmentation; perhaps they had been listening to a couple of Arabic flautists playing outside the gate of the monastery. (Question: do the students who learn about western medieval music as a 'set subject' ever have a chance of hearing Islamic records during their lessons?)

It seems that composers of any generation are likely to be nourished to a certain extent by the music they really listen to, even if they are able to disregard many of the sounds that are going on all around them. When I first went to Venice I watched the boats being tied up on the Riva degli Schiavoni and imagined the 16th-century Venetian composers strolling along the Riva and listening to the Dalmatian boatmen singing tunes that rose and fell in characteristic augmented seconds. It was an exciting thought that this might have been the origin of those 'harsh sounds' of the earliest Italian operas, and when I got back to England I asked a teacher of musical history if it could have happened like that. But he stated quite emphatically that no composer (meaning 'western' composer) would have written a tune with an augmented second until the chord of the diminished seventh had been accepted in keyboard accompaniments. Our conversation took place more than forty years ago, at a time when students learnt harmony before they learnt counterpoint, and when textbooks of rudiments were still insisting that 'normal intervals are *major*' and that the harmonic minor scale 'always presents melodic difficulty in its augmented second'. Last August, however, the audiences at the Durham Festival found no difficulty in welcoming the augmented second as 'normal'.

Another sound which soon became normal to our ears at Durham was the prolonged and rapidly vibrating cadence-note in some of the songs. We heard it in a record of two Africans singing in seconds a tone apart, and in a record of two Bulgarians singing a semitone apart. We could even hear it in a recorded 'reading' of the Koran (we were not allowed to refer to it as singing), where the long sustained note at the comma had a rapid 'trillo'. Is it possible that Monteverdi and his contemporaries could have heard this clearly articulated vibration? It sounded much more convincing than most 20th-century attempts to interpret early baroque cadences. And could it have been something like this that Purcell had in mind for the vocalized shuddering in the Frost Scene in *King Arthur?*

The prolonged oriental cadences we listened to, whether sung or played on a wind instrument, nearly always needed the support of 'uninterrupted' breathing. I first heard this astounding technique when I was in India in 1951. I had met a Buddhist monk who sang chants for me, with long unbroken phrases that went on and on and on. When I asked

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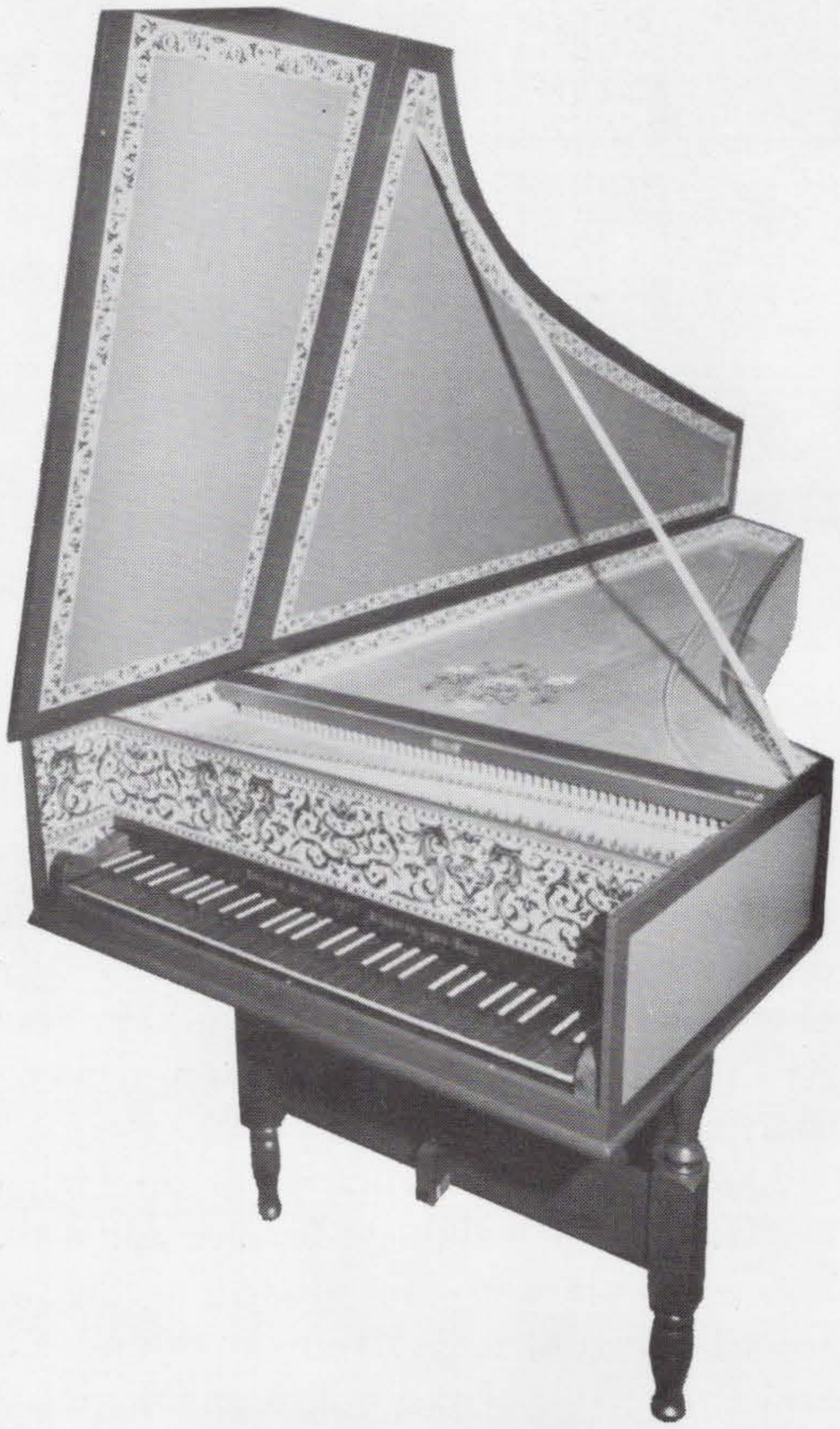

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him how he managed to make his breath last out, he replied: 'it is our discipline'. I thought he was referring to his religious discipline, so I left it at that. Then, later on, I was invited to a Hindu wedding reception held in a garden on a warm, dark December evening. The traditional wedding music was played on three shawms: father and son took it in turn to play the rāg antiphonally, while the grandfather held the drone. I stood and listened, and when the drone had gone on for about ten minutes without a break I went as close as I could and peered at the old man and saw that his bulging cheeks were providing a bellows for the sustained note: the 'discipline' was technical. There were many examples of this uninterrupted breathing to be heard at the Durham Festival, and Jean Jenkins told some of us about a well-known Islamic flute-maker, now aged eighty, who can play for twenty-four minutes without taking a new breath. Is it true that centuries ago there were European musicians who could breathe like this? And if so, when did the tradition die out? Could it have been used for those immensely long flute passages in Bach, such as the 'Benedictus' in the B minor Mass and the Prelude of the unaccompanied Suite in A minor? And what about the long florid vocal runs in baroque music, where our modern singers have to stop two or three times to snatch a new breath?

The singers we were listening to in Durham sometimes astonished us by the large compass needed for their songs. This was another characteristic that I had noticed when I was in India. I shall never forget the thrill of sitting at the feet of the great teacher Pandit Thakore during his singing classes at the University of Benares. He would gradually unfold the rāg for us, mounting higher and higher, until at the climax he triumphantly reached the top C of an operatic tenor; then he would fall away from it in long eloquent curves that sank lower and lower until they came to rest on the hushed *pianissimo* of the low C of a cello's open string. Were European singers ever able to cover such a wide range with their voices? We know that Purcell's stupendous bass was not the only member of the Chapel Royal choir who was asked to sing solos with a compass of more than two octaves. And early 15th-century polyphonists expected their singers to be astonishingly flexible. There is a passage in Robert Carver's nineteen-voice motet *O bone Jesu* where one of the tenors has a short four-bar phrase that descends two octaves from *f'* to *F*. (Modern choirs are usually compelled to borrow a bass for the third and fourth bars.)

Shawm players at Lucknow. Hindu wedding music.

Perhaps one day we may hear of English music students trying to learn to imitate the very un-European style of Islamic vocalization, with its harshly-held *fortissimo* pauses and its passionate declamation, where each phrase sounds as if it mattered more than anything else in life. And this might lead, before long, to doubts about the accepted style of singing Gregorian plainchant. In Thurston Dart's book *The Interpretation of Music*, published in 1954, he discusses the problem of the plainsong interpolations in polyphonic motets, saying: 'No one knows very much about how plainsong was sung in the sixteenth century. One thing is certain; it was not sung in accordance with the theories of Solesmes, which were developed in the late nineteenth century'. This, he admits, is 'a matter of some delicacy'. Those of us who were brought up on the ethereal beauty of the Solesmes tradition may well find it difficult to discard its cherished sublimity. But the Durham Festival has been a challenge, reminding us that we can't go through life saying 'I prefer it the way I've always been used to hearing it done'.

It is not only the 16th-century style of plainsong interpolations in polyphonic music that is now being questioned; it is also the style of singing the actual motets. Extemporized ornamentation of a melodic line, which is the very life-blood of oriental singing, has until fairly recently been considered utterly out of place in western polyphonic music. Yet Dart, in his 1954 *Interpretation*, was already telling us 'we shall obtain a false impression of sixteenth-century polyphonic lines if we merely reproduce them note for note as they are written'. And he went on to quote variant

readings listed in the *Tudor Church Music* volumes 'looking like written-out divisions'. I remember being greeted with raised eyebrows when I ventured to broadcast a lightly-embellished version of Josquin's *Salve Regina* in the late 1950s, but in 1977 we are given richly-ornamented Palestrina on Radio 3, and books are being written on the subject. (Question: is there a chance that pupils who are learning counterpoint may be encouraged to extemporize their own embellishments during classes, as an alternative—or at any rate a supplement—to the silent lessons in 'paper-work' that are still compulsory in examinations?)

When the Durham Festival came to an end it left us with an overwhelming impression of the rhythmical vitality of the musicians we had been meeting. We cannot hope to acquire the subtlety of their invention or the skill of their performance: it would take many lifetimes of perpetual practice. But we can, by listening to them, begin to realize what a long way some of us still have to go to achieve rhythmical continuity in our own music-making. Our western 'time-patterns' so often sound like one thing after another. And although we are supposed to have escaped from 'the tyranny of the barline' we still suffer from the frequent over-insistence of a pulse that should be felt rather than heard. (As Stanley Sadie recently said of an 'authentic' performance of late baroque music: 'I remain to be persuaded that a hefty accent is so often desirable or necessary on the strong beats'.)

Musicians from Africa or Java know all that is to be known about feeling the pulse; they learnt to dance before they could walk, and their music is inseparable from their dancing. Is it too optimistic to believe that English musicians may one day rediscover that inseparable link? In the 16th century we were known throughout Europe as 'the dancing English'. Things have changed since then, and the volumes of *Shakespeare's England* published in the early 20th century give music an honourable place, second among the 'Fine Arts', while dancing is put last but one among the 'Sports and Pastimes'.[1] I have been looking through the advertisements in the January 1977 number of *Early Music* for details of vacation schools and courses for players of medieval, renaissance and baroque music. Thirteen announcements ignore dancing as if it didn't exist. Two courses mention it, though one of them merely admits it as a 'fringe event'. It is only in the Schloss Breiteneich notice that there is an announcement of a 'workshop in medieval and renaissance dance for both dancers *and instrumentalists*'. Is it possible that the day may come when it will be the normal practice for string players rehearsing Purcell's 'Ayres for the Theatre' to begin by dancing the steps and figures of an appropriate tune from Playford's *English Dancing Master*?

One final question: are there any readers of *Early Music* who can persuade the authorities of the University of Durham to hold a second Oriental Music Festival in the not-too-distant future?

[1] See John M. Ward's 'The maner of dauncynge' in *EM*, April 1976, p. 127.

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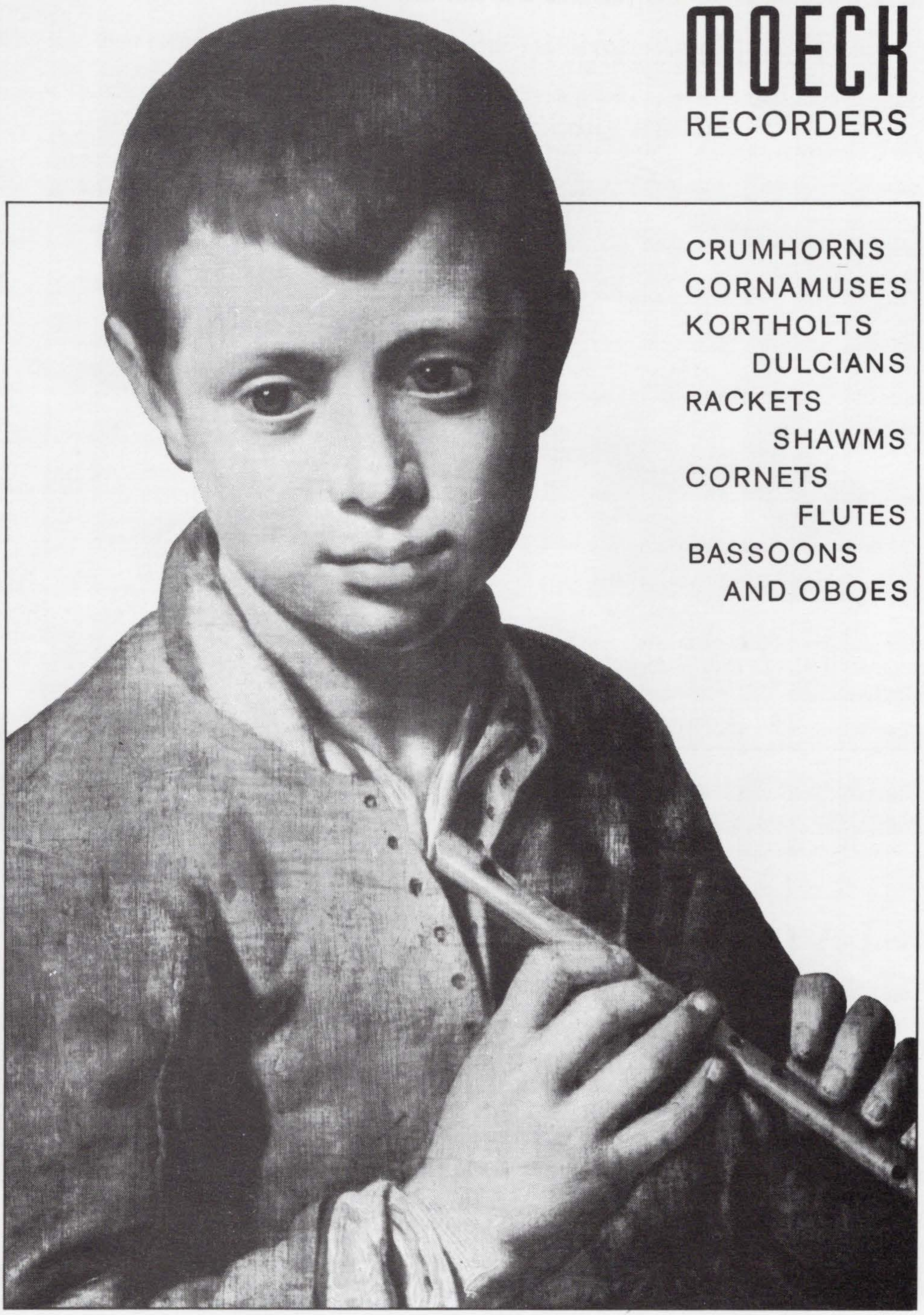

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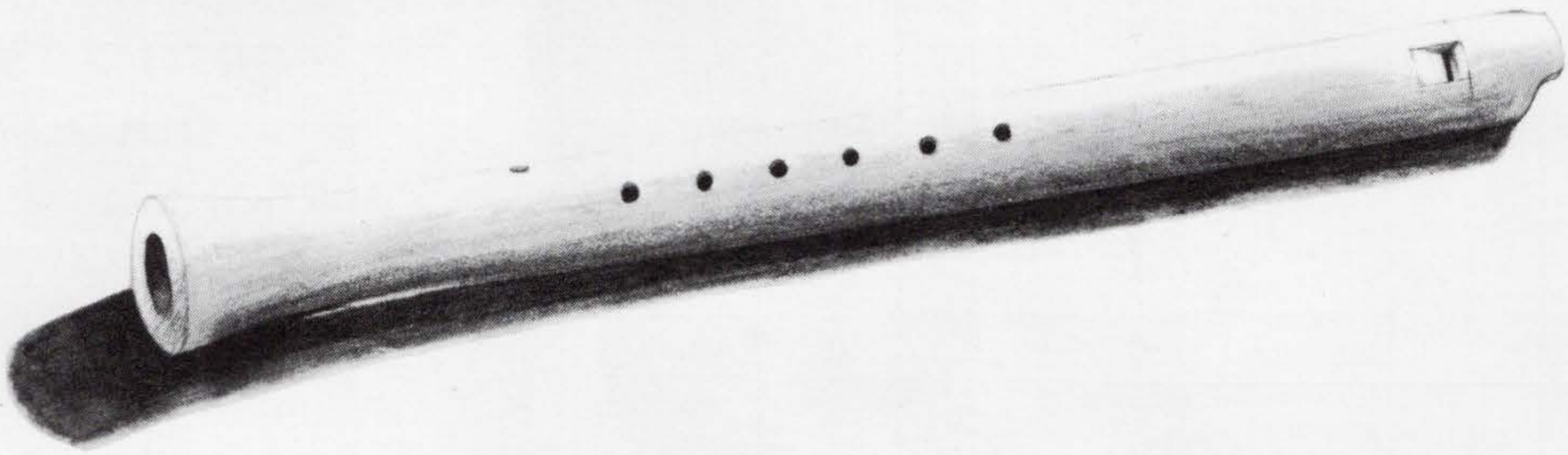

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A visit to the Adlam Burnett workshop

HOWARD SCHOTT

Harpsichord by Adlam Burnett 1977 after Ruckers of 1638

A visit to the Adlam Burnett workshop is truly a unique experience if only because of its exquisite setting. It is located in the grounds of Finchcocks, an elegant 18th-century house, built soon after the death of Queen Anne and set in a broad valley in magnificent Kentish countryside. The house itself contains a large part of Richard Burnett's superb collection of early keyboard instruments, including such rarities as a unique English double harpsichord dated 1744 by Thomas Blasser, an Erard grand of 1801 such as was presented to Beethoven, a Georg Friedrich Schmahl fretted clavichord, an 18th-century English chamber organ with its original pitch and temperament intact, to name but a few of the outstanding specimens fully restored to playing order. The workshop, unlike any other, is not dependent on a limited number of restorations and visits to museums for its contact with the spirit and craft standards of the past. It has the assurance of constant and immediate proximity to its own antiquarium.

It is fitting that this should be so, for the guiding spirit of the workshop, Derek Adlam, approached instrument building from the start through restoration. Initially he worked on a number of late 18th-century square pianos. He speaks of these as 'a very good class of instrument on which to cut one's teeth, because the best of them are marvellous pieces of craftsmanship, beautifully put together. They can be excellent musical instruments, eminently restorable, but are not usually irreplaceable antiques. So, if one does need to use such instruments for experiment, one does not run the risk of wrecking a very precious work of art. By contact with these early square pianos, one can gain an invaluable insight into the working standards, methods, techniques and basic approaches to craft processes that contact with fellow-craftsmen alone would not yield, because the modern history of revival of early keyboard instruments is now seen to be a development of and reaction to piano technology, not a development based on surviving early instruments themselves.'

Unfortunately for those who would be glad to have them put an early square piano into true working order, Adlam-Burnett have had to give up restoring such instruments except in the rarest and most exceptional cases in order to have time and facilities for their production of new instruments and the restoration of museum-quality historical examples. How the problems of restoring one such antique were dealt with can be read in Derek Adlam's own article, 'Restoring the Vaudry' (***Early Music***, iv (1976), 255).

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Trained as a keyboard player, studying piano, organ and harpsichord at the Guildhall School of Music, Adlam soon worked up a special interest in early keyboard music and especially in the transitional period repertoire, the works composed during the decline of the harpsichord and the rise of the fortepiano. Now he looks back on his student years and wonders how it was possible to develop such an interest, since there were so few opportunities then to hear harpsichords of true quality and virtually none at all in the case of fine early pianos. He still recalls with wonder a particularly notable broadcast at that time in which Benjamin Britten played with incredible sensitivity and natural skill on an early South German piano, an experience which made a deep impression on Adlam. (Is it possible that in the BBC Archives there might be a recording of the occasion?) He also remembers the thrill of becoming acquainted with the Nicolas and François Blanchet harpsichord of 1730, then on loan from Raymond Russell to Fenton House, and now the property of an American collector. Little did Adlam realize at the time that a good part of his life's work would be recreating precisely such instruments. In fact, the model of French double harpsichord produced by Adlam-Burnett is based on that Blanchet instrument, not least of all for the reason that it is of earlier date than the later models of Hemsch and Taskin favoured by the majority of modern makers.

It is rather startling to recall that Adlam's success as a builder of instruments began only half a dozen years ago. Up until 1971 he had only done restorations, served as curator of the Colt Collection and done his apprenticeship at the Feldberg workshop. He is excessively modest about his first instrument, a Flemish virginal (*muselar*) with keyboard to the right, based on the example by Andreas Ruckers the Elder dated 1611 and now in the great Vleeshuis Museum in Antwerp. When one asks about this maiden effort, the reply is evasive and suggests that it is now 'locked away in our vault'. In actuality the greatly admired instruments of the same type which now regularly emerge from the workshop differ from this prototype only in minor details. Opus 1 was created in the spring of 1971 and soon brought encouragement from many quarters, including such eminent performers as Gustav Leonhardt, Colin Tilney and Christopher Hogwood. Shortly afterward, in November 1971, the association with Richard Burnett was formed. Then Finchcocks was acquired and the venture was truly launched. Even before the work of restoring the buildings, mostly in a state of grave disrepair, could be begun in earnest, the

Virginal (muselar) by Adlam Burnett 1976 after Ruckers of 1611

View of the rose of the virginal pictured above, the decoration being by Derek Adlam

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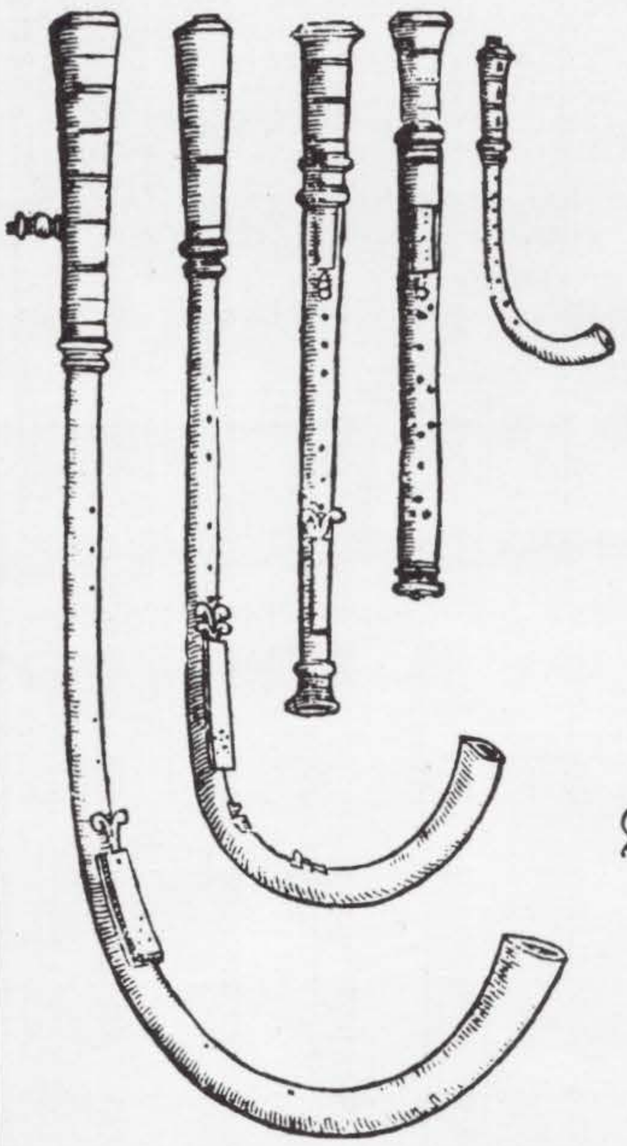

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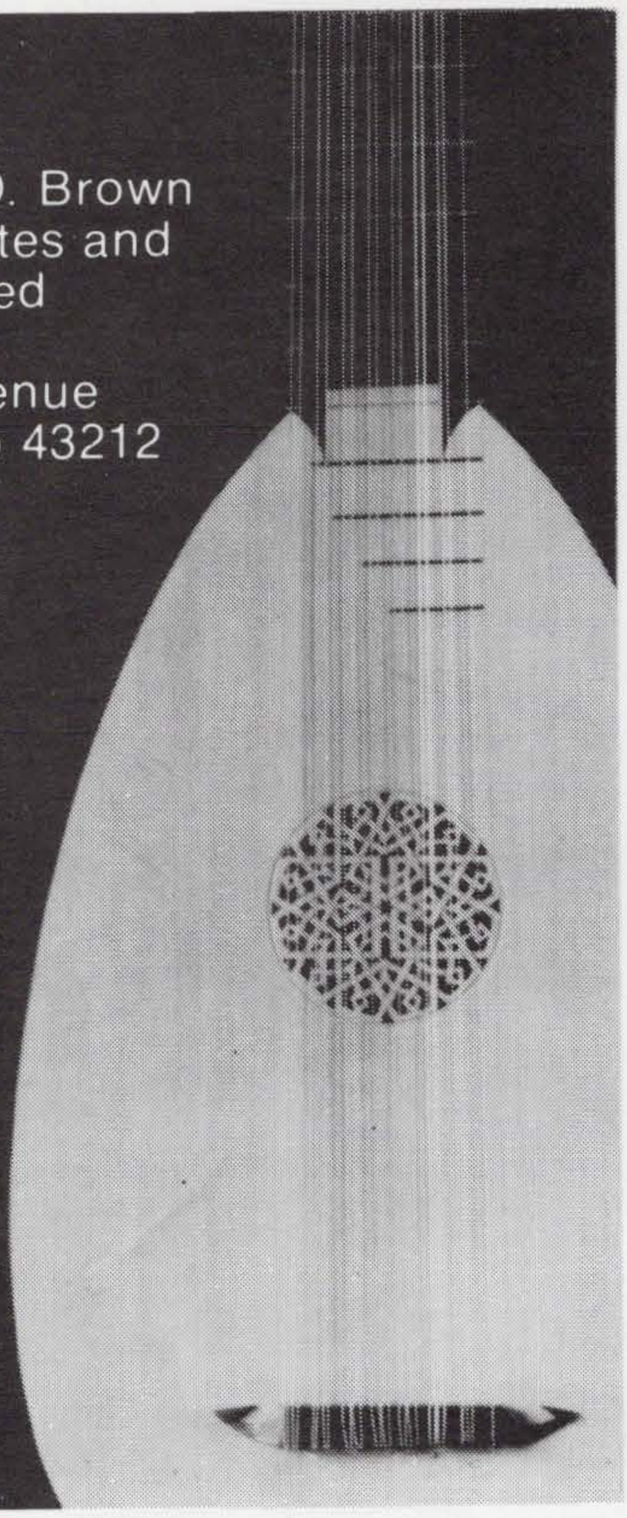

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new instrument workshop outbuilding was made habitable and fitted out. In a relatively short time, not only were Flemish virginals but fortepianos (modelled on a 5-octave South German instrument by Mathaeus Heilmann of Mainz, *c*1785) and a variety of harpsichords based on those of the early 17th century made by the Ruckers family in Antwerp, in active production. There was even time for the occasional one-of-a-kind instrument, like the reproduction of the late 15th-century clavicytherium in the Royal College of Music's collection. The Blanchet model was first shown in Bruges in 1974. The firm's first clavichord was recently delivered.

Derek Adlam is quite ready to take on the obvious query, 'Why didn't you use as your model an instrument by Johann Andreas Stein or Anton Walter, for example?' He points out that in the case of Stein, the acknowledged pioneer in South German fortepiano construction, there is an astonishing lack of uniformity amongst the surviving examples from his shop. The Augsburg master seems to have been a very experimental builder, one temperamentally driven to varying the construction of his instruments to such a degree that no two can really be said to be quite alike. Therefore, an instrument by a faithful disciple and constructed to the highest craft standards of the times, such as the Heilmann fortepiano, will more likely incorporate the summation of all these experiments than would any single example by his master. Certain modern makers have attempted a conflation of Stein instruments but the risks of so doing are obvious.

Most important of all, Adlam goes on, is the degree of access one is afforded to a proposed model. Neither museums nor private collectors are very eager to allow their prized treasures to be atomized and then anatomized by those eager to reproduce them. In some cases one has no choice to but accept the limitations of access imposed by these conditions. In the case of the Heilmann piano, he was especially fortunate to be able to gain an intimate knowledge of the original instrument through his work as curator of the Colt Collection, a post which reluctantly had to be relinquished in 1973. For essentially similar reasons, the new model of $5\frac{1}{2}$-octave Viennese grand currently being developed will be based on an original by Michael Rosenberger now in the Burnett Collection. This Bavarian set up shop in the Austrian capital by 1796 and was highly esteemed in his day, although less renowned in our time than the Steins, Streicher, Walter and Schantz, perhaps owing to the rarity of his instruments. A fine example of one is in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, be it noted. The Rosenberger at Finchcocks arrived in such condition that it had literally to be taken to bits in order to restore it. This naturally enabled the builder to make a complete study of its every detail without being forced to resort to any major guesswork.

But complete dismantling is not always possible, so that the accurate external measurements have to be supplemented by a comparably reliable examination of interior elements. Adlam-Burnett since their formation have gained a member of the firm, Bill Debenham, a professional engineer turned instrument maker. He has perfected techniques of using portable X-ray equipment to see inside keyboard instruments which must remain closed, similar to the methods long employed in the examination of the smaller wind and string instruments but hitherto of little or no application in the keyboard field. Debenham is also the expert draughtsman of the engineering drawings now becoming available from the Victoria and Albert Museum of such instruments as the Barthold Fritz clavichord and the Vaudry harpsichord.

Another special interest of Derek Adlam's which is reflected in the production at Adlam-Burnett is the clavichord, both in its role as an instrument of the transition between harpsichord and fortepiano, and in its older, traditional capacity. The workshop's first instrument was of the former type, a large unfretted clavichord based on the Hass of 1763 in the Russell Collection, Edinburgh, on which Adlam played in a concert at the Purcell Room, London, in November 1976. A fretted clavichord of smaller dimensions based on the Schmahl instrument in the Burnett Collection is also under way. In discussing the clavichord, Derek Adlam emphasizes the absolute necessity of keeping strictly to type. The 'revival' clavichord began with Arnold Dolmetsch's six copies of the 1784 Hoffmann unfretted instrument which were remarkably faithful for their period, the middle 1890s. Since that time, however, many varieties of compromise instruments have been evolved and these have strayed very far, sometimes unrecognizably so, from any identifiable historical example. What is more, an essential distinction has been blurred if not altogether lost sight of: the difference between the type of attack and resonance characteristic of the fretted instrument, the original and ubiquitous clavichord dating from the 15th century, and the much later and much larger unfretted type associated specifically with North Germany in the mid-18th century. The smaller instrument tradition-

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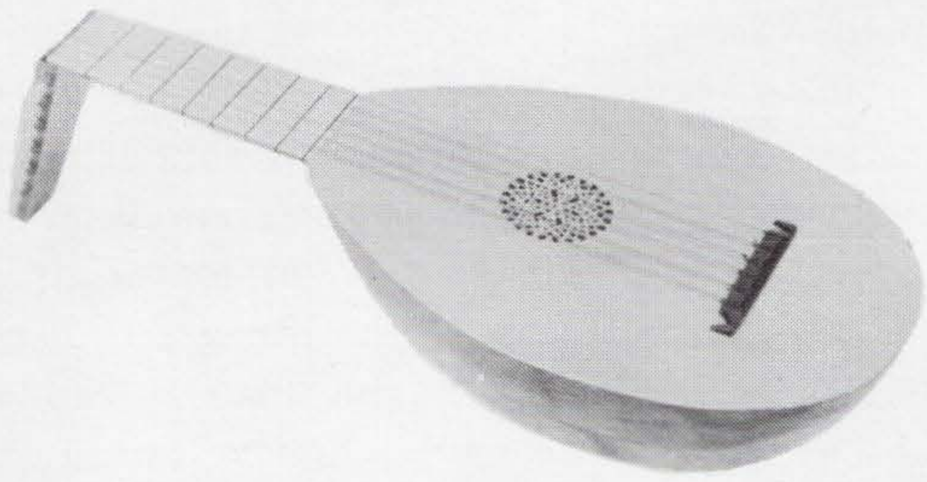

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ally served as a simple, portable, domestic instrument, not merely for quiet practice but as a veritable musical 'maid-of-all-work'. Its sound, while not noticeably powerful, is certainly not the gentle whisper characteristic of so many modern clavichords. The tone of a well-constructed small fretted clavichord carries well, like a properly projected singing voice of intrinsically limited volume. For example, it suffices amply to fill the great hall at Finchcocks, a room about 15 metres long, as was once demonstrated on the spot with just such an instrument made by Christopher Clarke, one of the restoration team working at Adlam-Burnett. The attack is clear and sharp. Vibrato is possible but neither especially characteristic of the instrument type nor demanded by the earlier repertoire suited to it.

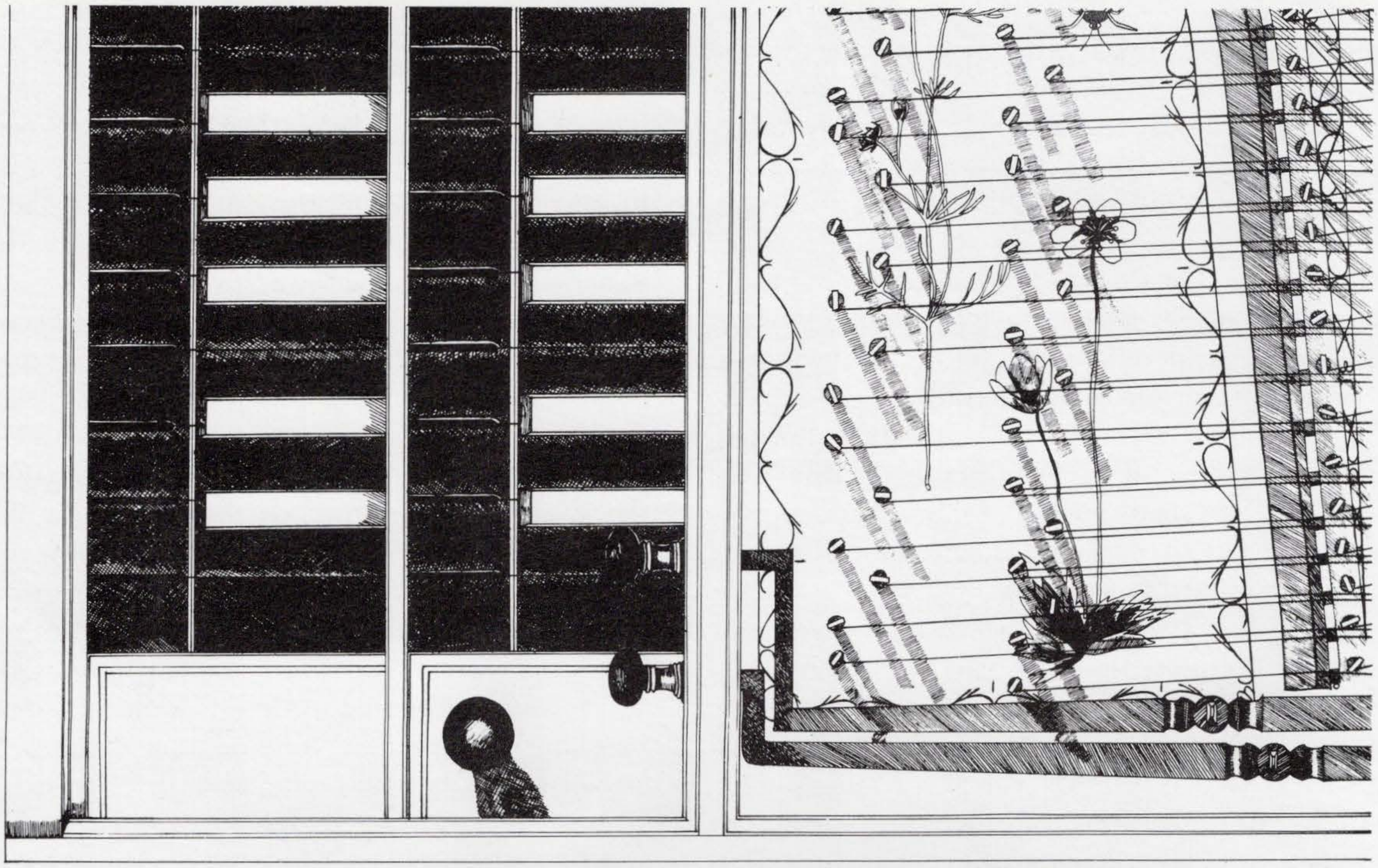
The large unfretted variety is linked to a specific repertoire, the sentimental *galant* works of the *Empfindsamkeit* represented above all by the clavichord music of C. P. E. Bach. The volume of sound of the large instrument is, if anything, slightly less than that of its smaller fretted brother. This seems surprising in view of the size of the later instrument which leads one to expect a correspondingly greater tone. But a wide range of nuance is possible for the skilled player, with much vibrato as the music often expressly requires. The repertoire of the late unfretted clavichord overlaps somewhat with that of the early piano. Indeed, the square pianos of the German builders of the 1760 period who took refuge in London are clearly hammer-action adaptations of the large clavichord they had known in their youth in the home country. This overlap of function and repertoire, Adlam points out, means that the builder of both types of instrument, the clavichord and early piano, gains greatly in respect of each from his experience of the other. This was also the case with the 18th-century makers, at least in the geographical area where both instruments were being cultivated at the time.

He modestly adds that we cannot claim as yet to have solved all the mysteries of clavichord building, even after a revival stretching back 80 years. For example, the whole question of stringing materials and gauges for clavichords, for all our gain in knowledge of the past few years, is still *sub judice* to some extent. We are still investigating the complex and delicate balance between string tension, affecting touch which bears so directly on clavichord tone-production and its capacity for vibrato, and string resonance, the resultant of such factors as metal, diameter, scaling, striking distance and structure. By keeping an open mind one can gain a great deal of insight that is denied forever to a closed one. For instance, it has long been received doctrine that the majority of unfretted clavichords in the North German tradition were invariably strung in brass throughout, and only the very long-scaled instruments perforce in iron wire. But investigation and experimentation support the belief that many more than formerly thought used a ferrous material in the treble section.

Decorative details are of particular importance to Derek Adlam who personally executes as many of them as he can. While this interview was in progress, a drawing in India ink of a revised pattern for a Flemish block-printed paper was waiting for its conclusion so that work could continue. On the same visit a Blanchet model harpsichord was in the workshop voicing-room. I was very impressed by the handsomely painted floral decoration on the sound-board and wrestplank. These also proved to be from Adlam's own hand, which is not surprising in view of his life-long interest in plants—he thought at one time of becoming a botanist—and his continuing passion for gardening.

But it is not only the highly decorated instruments which are the object of concern. The selection of cherry, walnut and other fine cabinet wood veneers for the fortepianos, for instance, is all the more important because these plain instruments have no applied decoration to relieve the effect they make. They depend for that totally on their purity of line and the quality of their material.

To Derek Adlam, instruments—and especially antique examples—are integral in the sense that the smallest detail contributes to an important extent to our total impression. But mere fidelity in terms of good intentions is not enough, clearly, and one must match them by craft skills equal to the task of recreating what the old masters produced. Sometimes the acquisition of such skills is deferred if not altogether dismissed by young builders, eager to get into production, and not especially burdened by feelings of humility. There is a tendency to cut short one's apprenticeship and to go into business on one's own with neither craft skills, musical understanding nor business judgement adequate to support such an enterprise. The growth in the number of instrument makers and workshops in all branches of early music especially has not always been matched by an equivalent growth in quality. While always on the search for young people with some keyboard instrument building experience, a wise master will shun those who need to be supervised at every turn, or those intent purely on personal glory.



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In addition to the fortepianos and clavichords which they are developing, Adlam Burnett propose to extend their production of harpsichords after Ruckers to include a two-manual type based on the aligned former transposing instruments, such as the one formerly at Schloss Ahaus. These have the usual two choirs of unison strings and one of octave strings, but they are played by four sets of jacks. Thus, even though one of the upper 8′ sets of jacks is dog-legged, eliminating the need for a coupler, there is a second set of upper 8′ jacks alternately available which do not affect the lower manual so that *pièces croisées* can be played. This in effect amounts to the disposition of the classic English harpsichord of the 18th century, with the important difference that the alternate row of upper-manual jacks pluck at a relatively normal point rather than at the nut as in a lute register. An Italian model harpsichord may also be brought out but Adlam has some reservations on this, not least of all concerning compass and its correlative pitch. But he is quite clear about the instruments he does *not* intend to build: those which do not interest him from a musical standpoint, and those which are still relatively plentiful in the antique market. Thus, he proposes to concentrate for the while on the relatively scarce and musically important South German fortepianos and leave the provision of early English grands mainly to the restorers.

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The Monteverdi Vespers

Suggested answers to some fundamental questions

IAIN FENLON

Title page of 1610 edition, published at Venice.

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A

As a necessary prelude to the most interesting part of this exercise, some background information is needed and the lid from a particularly tricky can of musicological worms gently prised off.

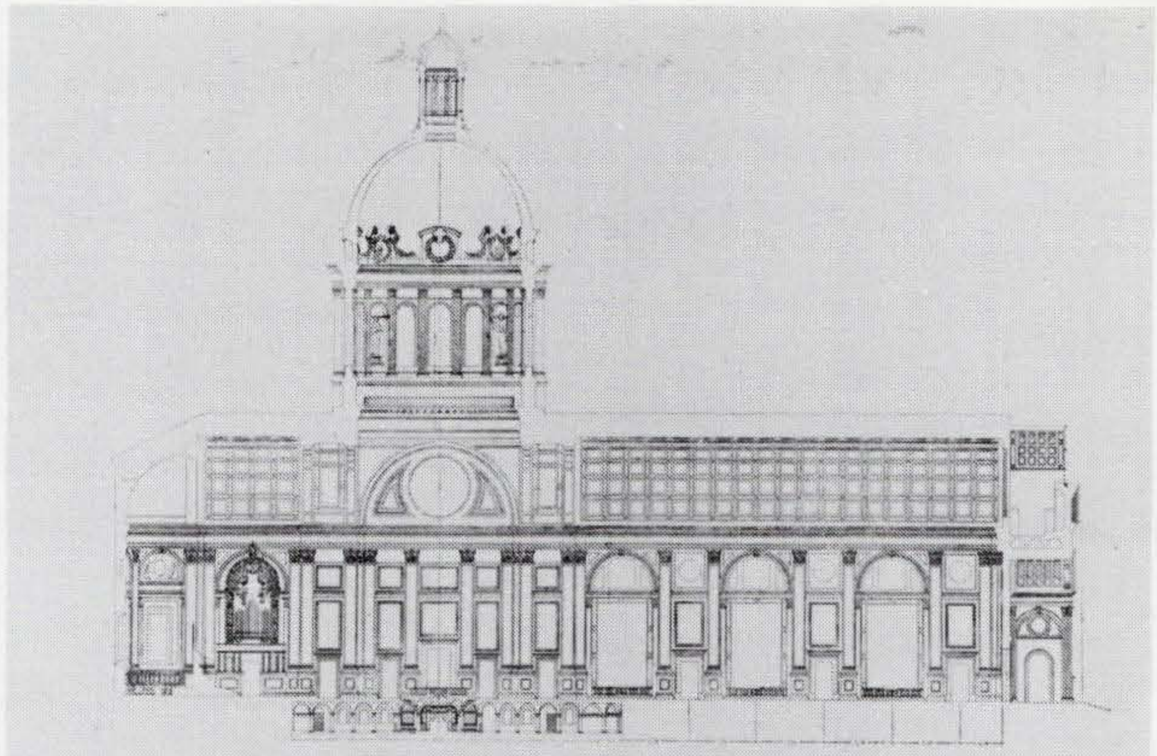
Monteverdi's *Vespers* were published together with two settings of the Magnificat and the Mass *In illo tempore* at Venice in 1610 with a dedication to Pope Paul V. The composer was then 43 and employed by Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, in whose service he had been for some 20 years. The contrast between the style of the Mass and that of the *Vespers* is striking enough, but within the *Vespers* settings there is a wide variety of approaches and an apparent lack of liturgical unity. After the opening respond *Domine ad adiuvandum*, five psalm movements alternate with pieces for solo voices. There follows an instrumental sonata, the hymn *Ave maris stella*, and finally two settings of the Magnificat. This range of forms and styles, the non-liturgical character of some of the texts, and the lack of any single occasion in the Roman rite when the liturgical items in the Vespers could be performed entire has generated a spectacular squabble about whether the work is an artistic and liturgical unity. Redlich regarded the *Vespers* as a compilation for publication rather than an artistic whole.[1] Stevens left out the concertos and the Sonata from his edition in the belief that they are liturgically extraneous and suggested using plainsong antiphons in their place.[2] Wolters, in what is now the only acceptable practical edition, retained the concertos and the Sonata but added plainsong antiphons as well.[3]

The debate took a new turn with the argument that it was unjustified to assume that liturgical and musical presentations were identical in Roman rite ceremonies of the period. The liturgical act had to be performed by the celebrant and the music served as an accompaniment. Non-liturgical vocal substitutions for the Proper, although not officially sanctioned by the Church, were certainly in use and this view of the concertos and the Sonata as 'antiphon-substitutes' largely explained how the *Vespers* could be seen as a single concept.[4] Other evidence also suggests that an incomplete performance violates Monteverdi's intentions. For example, the order in which the pieces appear in the 1610 publication is unusual, and in contrast to the contemporary practice of placing motet settings in a separate section of the volume. In short, the 'antiphon-substitute' view recognizes that the *Vespers* as published would be regarded by contemporary performers as a possible musical accompaniment on any of the occasions in the church year when an elaborate

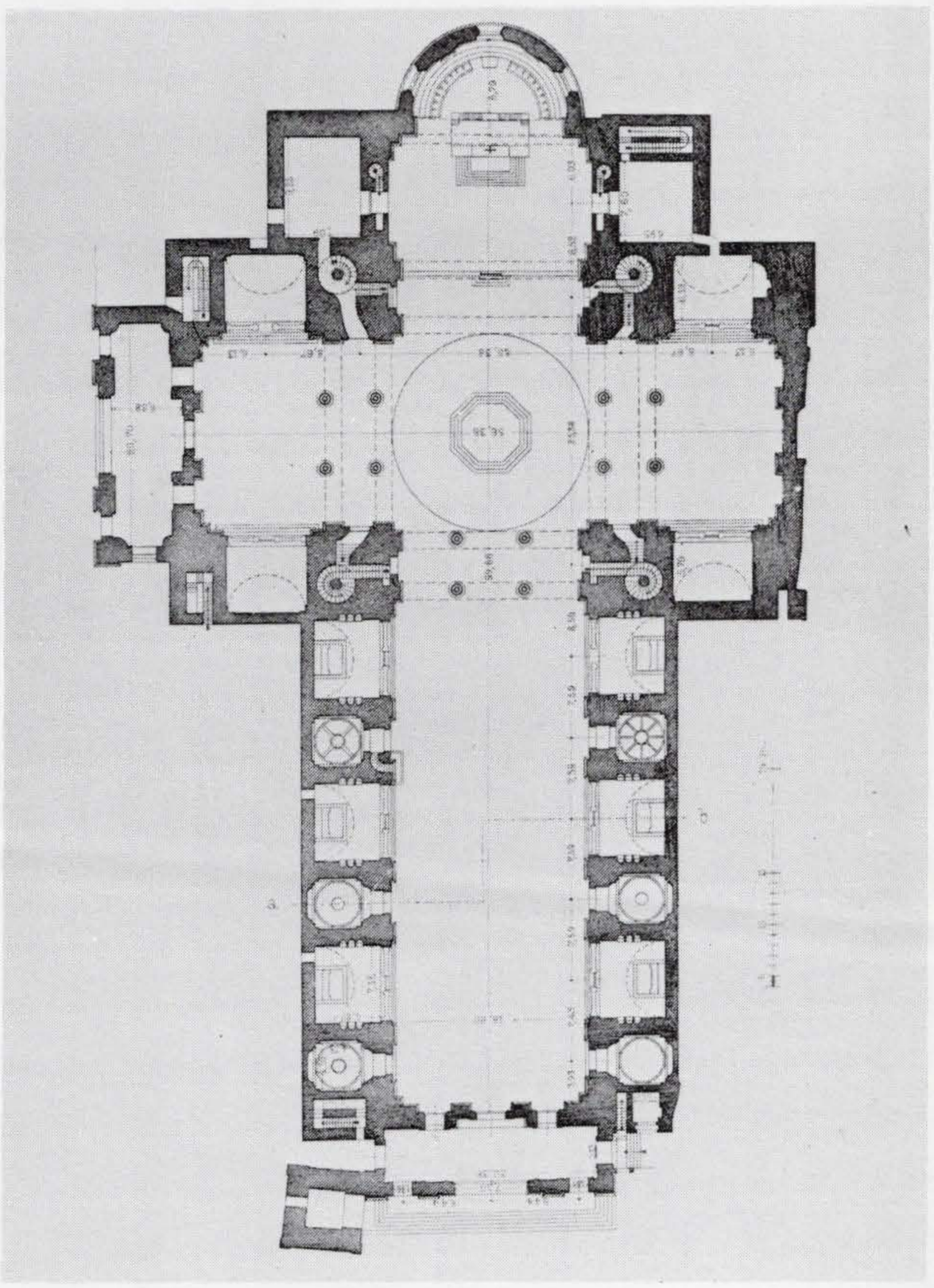
Marian setting of the Vespers might be required.

An acceptance of the *Vespers* as a unity is implicit in what follows, which considers other issues, ultimately germane to performance, which have been comparatively neglected in the cut and thrust of debate. To return to the music itself, the Monteverdi *Vespers* are an unparalleled display of instrumental and vocal virtuosity and colour, structural complexity, textural and stylistic variety, and sheer length. Given the system of patronage under which composers worked, it is almost certain that a work of this kind was originally written for a specific occasion, even with particular forces in mind. With the exception of the early pre-Mantuan *Sacrae cantiunculae* Monteverdi is not known to have written any other church music before the *Vespers*, and his appointment at Mantua did not involve composing for the Ducal Chapel of Santa Barbara.[5] Although the work was undoubtedly commissioned, the 1610 publication itself offers no clue as to what the occasion might have been. Indeed, it really attempts, quite successfully as it turned out, to disguise the quasi-liturgical and occasional quality of the concertos by listing the complete contents of the volume only in the organ score. This was no doubt necessary in view of the dedication to a Pope whose Counter-Reformation enthusiasms were intense, and the relative importance of Mass and *Vespers* as expressed typographically on the title page only continues the deception (See ill.).

It is possible to infer a range of composition dates for the *Vespers*. The Mass in the 1610 publication was started in the early part of that year and, according to a contemporary letter, cost Monteverdi a good deal of hard work and study, presumably because of the artistic problems posed by the requirements of the old Northern polyphonic manner.[6] The dedication of the volume is dated 1 September 1610. Consequently, given Monteverdi's duties at court, it seems unlikely (though possible) that the *Vespers* could have been written, performed and then set up for publication in the same year, and there was no occasion during 1610 for which they would have been required at Mantua. The *Vespers* cannot have been written after the early months of 1610; they must also have been written after the early months of 1607. Amongst the many parallels between the *Vespers* and *Orfeo*, the most obvious is the direct quotation of the opening toccata from the opera in the first movement of the *Vespers*. Again, although it is possible that it is *Orfeo* that is derived from the *Vespers* in this detail, it is highly improbable that a composer should proceed from a more complicated to a more simple texture in this way. The presence of the



Saint Andrea, Mantua, elevation (E. Ritscher).



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Orfeo toccata in *Domine ad adiuvandum* is a cross-reference which emphasizes the Mantuan origins of the *Vespers* and provides a second *terminus*, the carnival of 1607 when *Orfeo* was given for the first time.[7]

To return to the question of the specific occasion for which the *Vespers* were composed, it is often suggested that they were intended for festal use in the Gonzaga chapel of Santa Barbara. This chapel, a centrally-planned church of some size, was founded by Vincenzo Gonzaga's father in the early 1560s and accorded Papal privileges in 1564 which designated it a 'collegiata perpetua' with a Chapter and its own Breviary, Diurnal and Missal.[8] The Santa Barbara rite is based upon a 'reformed' version of the chant quite distinct from contemporary Roman use, and a strong argument against the idea that the *Vespers* were written for Santa Barbara is that the *cantus firmus* of Monteverdi's *Ave maris stella* is from the Roman rather than the Santa Barbara use.[9] In addition, the Papal privileges are quite special, almost unique, and stress the strong Counter-Reformation spirit in which Santa Barbara was established. It was under Papal control rather than that of the Diocese that the chapel functioned. All these arrangements argue against uncanonical services such as the *Vespers* being held there, and not only did Monteverdi never have responsibilities in the chapel, the Santa Barbara library of music which survives virtually complete contains none of his music.[10] In these circumstances it seems unlikely that the *Vespers* can have had any connection with Santa Barbara, and recent exhaustive archival work has not presented any possible connections with the Mantuan Cathedral of San Pietro either.[11] If these two churches are discounted, there are few other Mantuan churches in which the *Vespers* could have been suitably performed; the most appropriate is the large city church of Sant' Andrea.[12]

Other possibilities lead to Sant' Andrea too. Public entertainments at the Gonzaga court during the years 1607 to 1610 were eclipsed by the series of events celebrating the marriage of the Gonzaga heir, Francesco, to Margherita of Savoy. Here a little historical background is necessary. Between the decision to present the festivities and the performances themselves there is an extraordinary history of delays, delays that had nothing to do with internal artistic difficulties but were the result of complicated diplomatic manoeuvres designed to prevent the marriage taking place. Originally Prince Francesco was to have left Mantua on 12 January 1608, presumably to marry Margherita in Turin, and then return with her for the Mantuan celebrations. The implications of a Gonzaga-Savoy alliance disturbed the Hapsburgs, and there followed the bizarre spectacle of the 56-year-old Emperor Rudolph II courting Margherita himself in an attempt to forestall the union. Eventually, Francesco was married by proxy in Turin on 17 February and claimed his bride in person on 10 March. Further political bargaining prevented the official nuptial celebrations from taking place in Mantua until the end of May, but in the event they were spectacular, unparalleled in the Mantuan tradition of court spectacle and comparable to the lavish public ceremonies produced at the Medici court.[13]

The bride entered the city on 24 May and between then and the final banquet on 8 June there were fireworks, a mock naval battle and a tournament. The musical and theatrical highlights were the performances of Monteverdi's *L'Arianna* on 28 May and his *Ballo dell' ingrate* on 4 June, both to texts by Ottavio Rinuccini, and the presentation of Guarini's *L'Idropica* with musical *intermedii*. Interestingly, the public part of the celebrations began on Sunday, 25 May with a special ceremony in Sant' Andrea inaugurating a new order of knighthood in honour of Christ as Redeemer. Partly inspired by somewhat illusory parallels between the Crusades and Vincenzo Gonzaga's participation in the Imperial-Papal campaign against the Turks, and reminiscent of the Medici order of San Stefano, the Mantuan Order of the Redentore, with its elaborate mock-chivalric trappings and nostalgic recall of Burgundian civilization, was an impressive way of dispensing honours and emphasizing the connections if not actually blurring the dividing lines between earthly and heavenly rulers. In Sant' Andrea, on 25 May 1608, Vincenzo Gonzaga installed Francesco as the first member of the new order, investing him and the other new knights with robes and decorations.[14] The knights then kissed the Duke's hand, bowed to Prince Francesco, and took their places for the liturgical part of the ceremony. Now the *Te Deum* was chanted and then, after an oration by the Bishop of Mantua, solemn (polyphonic) Vespers were celebrated by the Bishop dressed pontifically. At the end of this service the treasured relic of the Precious Blood was displayed on the high altar and the Duke together with his son, the other new knights, and the members of the nobility who had witnessed the ceremony returned to court.

In the absence of any precise archival evidence it is hardly proven that this was the occasion for which Monteverdi's *Vespers* were written. Nevertheless, the

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idea has some attractive implications. It is a little strange that the inauguration of the Redentore should not be held in either Santa Barbara or the Cathedral, and that Sant' Andrea was the largest ecclesiastical performing space in Mantua might have made it the most suitable location for Monteverdi's work. In other words, Monteverdi's *Vespers* might have been tailored for the building, and the ground plan and cross-section (see ills.) give some idea of the performance possibilities within the available space. The Mantuan chronicler Follino is emphatic that the Redentore ceremony was part of the wedding celebrations, and the texts of some of the troublesome 'antiphon-substitutes' with their thinly-veiled erotic overtones would have been considered appropriate for an occasion of this kind. The parallels between *Orfeo* and the *Vespers*, particularly in matters of instrumentation, already suggests that the virtuoso instrumental parts in the *Vespers* were written for performers who had already proved themselves in the *Orfeo* production of 1607. If the *Vespers* themselves were written for the 1608 festivities, then it may be that they were conceived with definite performers in mind, most probably the performers who had been engaged to take part in the theatrical presentations. Some of these are known. When Vincenzo Gonzaga acknowledged the use of borrowed singers in the published account of the festivities, it was suggested that he had accepted their services as a favour.[15] In reality, he had been compelled by the ambitious nature of his plans to seek reinforcements from nearby courts, particularly Florence. It should be remembered that it was originally intended that all the celebrations would take place during the carnival season, but that as things turned out only Gagliano's *Dafne* was given then. In this piece, Francesco Rasi played Apollo, Caterina Martinelli (for whom the title-role in *L'Arianna* was written) Venus, and Antonio Brandi the messenger Thirsis.[16] It would also appear that Jacopo Peri was involved in *Dafne*, and so, like these other singers, may have been involved in the Vespers as well.[17] One very noticeable aspect of the 1608 arrangements is the prominence of female virtuoso singers, a tradition which in Mantua dates from the end of the 1580s, and this raises the possibility, strengthened by the semi-liturgical nature of the Redentore ceremony, that women singers were used in the first performance of the *Vespers*. But in this, as in so many other aspects of the 1608 celebrations, it was clearly pressures of a more political kind that shaped artistic policy rather than simple 'internal' musical issues.

Nave of Saint Andrea, Mantua (Giovetti di Mantova).

Illustrations from *La Basilica di S. Andrea in Mantova* published by Istituto Carlo d'Arco for the Mantuan Provincial Tourist Office.

[1] H. F. Redlich: *Claudio Monteverdi. Life and works* (London, 1952), pp. 126-30; *idem* 'Monteverdi's religious music', *Music and Letters* XXVII (1946), pp. 208-215 and particularly *idem:* 'Claudio Monteverdi: Some problems of textual interpretation', *Musical Quarterly* XLI (1955), pp. 66-75.

[2] D. Stevens (ed.): *Claudio Monteverdi. Vespers* (London, 1961). Stevens' view is fully set out in *idem;* 'Where are the Vespers of yesteryear?', *Musical Quarterly* XLVII (1961), pp. 315-30.

[3] G. Wolters (ed.): *Claudio Monteverdi. Vesperae Beatae Mariae Virginis 1610* (Wolfenbüttel, 1966).

[4] S. Bonta: 'Liturgical problems in Monteverdi's Marian Vespers', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XX (1967), pp. 87-106. Bonta's argument is confirmed and strengthened by a number of subsequent articles, in particular W. Osthoff: 'Unità-liturgica e artistica nei "Vespri" del 1610', *Rivista italiana di musicologia* II (1967), pp. 314-27; J. G. Kurtzman: 'Some historical perspectives on the Monteverdi Vespers', *Analecta musicologica* 15 (1975), pp. 29-86; and J. Armstrong: 'The *Antiphonae, seu sacrae cantiones* (1613) of Giovanni Francesco Anerio: A liturgical study', *Analecta musicologica* 14 (1974), pp. 89-150.

[5] As is mentioned later in the text, Monteverdi's music is not represented in the Santa Barbara library. In addition, his name does not occur in the chapel records. See P. M. Tagmann: 'La cappella dei maestri cantori della basilica palatina di Santa Barbara a Mantova (1565-1630)', *Civiltà mantovana* 24 (1970), 376-400.

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[6] S. Davari: *Notizie biografiche del distinto maestro di musica Claudio Monteverdi* (Mantua, 1884), p. 99 citing a letter from Bernardo Casola dated 16 July, 1610.

[7] The first performance was given in February 1607 and then repeated twice in Mantua shortly afterwards. See the contemporary documentation given in Davari: op cit, p. 85 and in P. Canal: *Della musica in Mantova* (Venice, 1881), p. 101.

[8] For details of the foundation of Santa Barbara see Tagmann: op cit, and particularly I. Donesmondi: *Dell' istoria ecclesiastica di Mantova* (Mantua, 1613-16), pp. 201ff.

[9] This is convincingly argued in K. Jeppesen: 'Monteverdi, Kapellmeister an S. ta Barbara?', in R. Monterosso (ed.): *Claudio Monteverdi e il suo tempo* (Verona, 1969), pp. 313-19. For further on the Santa Barbara rite see O. Strunk: 'Guglielmo Gonzaga and Palestrina's *Missa Domenicalis*', *Musical Quarterly* XXXIII (1947), pp. 228-39. Reprinted in O. Strunk: *Essays on Music in the western world* (New York, 1974), pp. 94-107.
There is a summary of the liturgical practice at Santa Barbara in C. MacClintock: *Giaches de Wert (1535-1596). Life and works* (n.p., 1966), pp. 131ff.

[10] See G. Barblan (ed.): *Musiche della cappella di S. Barbara in Mantova* (Florence, 1972). It should be noted that the library survives almost complete, as a comparison with the 1611 inventory preserved in the Archivio Diocesano, Mantua shows.

[11] P. M. Tagmann: *Archivalische Studien zur Musikpflege am Dom von Mantua (1500-1627)* (Bern and Stuttgart, 1967).

[12] It is worth emphasizing that there is no evidence to suggest that Monteverdi might have composed the *Vespers* for a non-Mantuan patron. It may well be true, as is often suggested, that the 1610 publication, designed for presentation rather than performance, was intended to appeal to Roman and Venetian institutions, but the work cannot have been conceived for them.

[13] For a detailed account of the preparations see S. Reiner: 'La vag'Angioletta (and others). Part I', *Analecta musicologica* 14 (1974), pp. 26-88. The fundamental account of the festivities is F. Follino: *Compendio delle sontuose feste fatte l'anno M. DC. VIII* ... (Mantua, 1608) parts of which appear in A. Solerti: *Gli albori del melodramma*, 2 (Milan, 1904-5) pp. 145-8 and 3, pp. 207-34 together with other useful material. For an introduction in English see A. Nagler: *Theatre festivals of the Medici* (New Haven, 1964), pp. 177-185.

[14] The ceremony is described in Follino: op cit, pp. 19-26.

[15] Follino: op cit, p. 74 also given in Solerti: op cit 3, p. 208.

[16] Reiner: op cit, p. 49.

[17] Reiner: op cit, p. 41.

Andrew Parrott will conduct a performance of Monteverdi's Vespers *at a Henry Wood Prom Concert in St Augustine's Church, Kilburn, on Monday, 25 July at 7.30 p.m. The concert will be broadcast live on Radio 3.*

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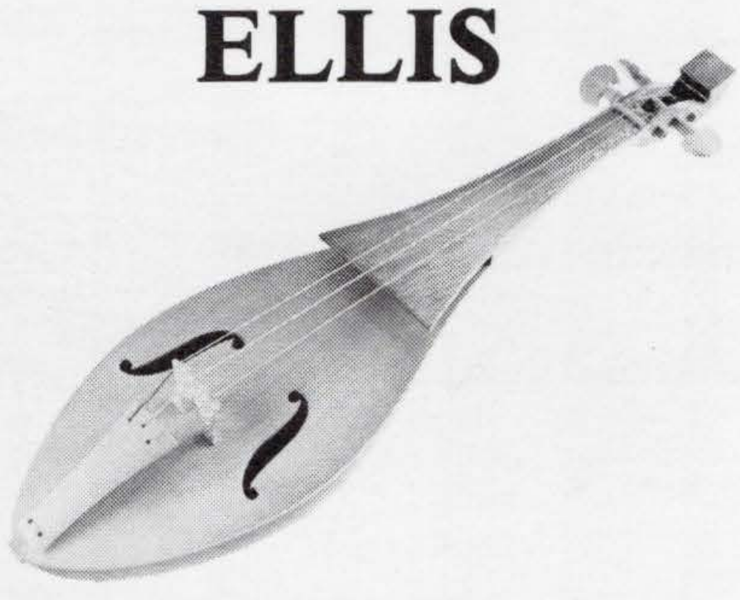

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String playing in baroque music 1

ROBERT DONINGTON

'We need the historical information, and we need the skill and insight to make great music of it', writes Robert Donington in his new book on baroque string playing, with a 12-inch LP recorded by Yehudi Menuhin, George Malcolm and the author. This first of two extracts is concerned with broad conceptual questions, the second will discuss the use of vibrato in baroque music.*

Transparency and crispness

There is something in the way baroque music is composed which requires that the sound of string instruments should be transparent. Voices and wind instruments are subject to the same requirement; but voice-production is an art in itself, with Italian bel canto as its foundation, while wind playing, though not without its special problems for baroque performance, does not usually raise a problem in this particular matter of transparent sounds. But for baroque fiddling, it is the problem of problems.

There is a second requirement, connected with the first. This is a clean cutting edge. If the moment of attack is very massive, it is like using a blunt implement where a razor sharpness would do a better job. If the moment of attack is very smooth in the wrong places, it produces a pattern too soft for clearness. Here, also, voices and wind instruments need, just as much, this crispness of attack. Nevertheless, it is remarkable how quickly a concerted baroque performance begins to fall into shape as soon as the sound and attack of any string instruments involved have been brought into proper baroque style.

Not every modern player will have the use of a baroque instrument or a baroque bow. Yet, though he cannot get a baroque sound, he can get a baroque style. For this, it is not really the implements that are going to make the crucial difference; it is the player's trained musicianship and his use of the appropriate techniques.

'The menuet' by Giambattista Tiepolo (1696-1770) or by his son Giandomenico (1727-1804), or both! This Venetian painting of 1757, in the Louvre, Paris, shows violins, violas, a lute and two doublebasses.

Robust but not strenuous

For example, when a bow stroke combines great speed, great pressure, flat hair, somewhat close to the bridge, the tone yielded is both robust and strenuous. A sound so violent and so opaque seems quite opposed to the spirit and technique of any baroque music.

* *String playing in Baroque Music*, Faber (London, May 1977).

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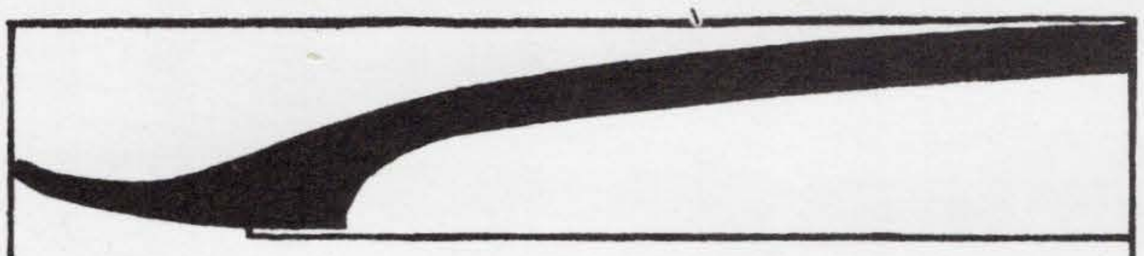

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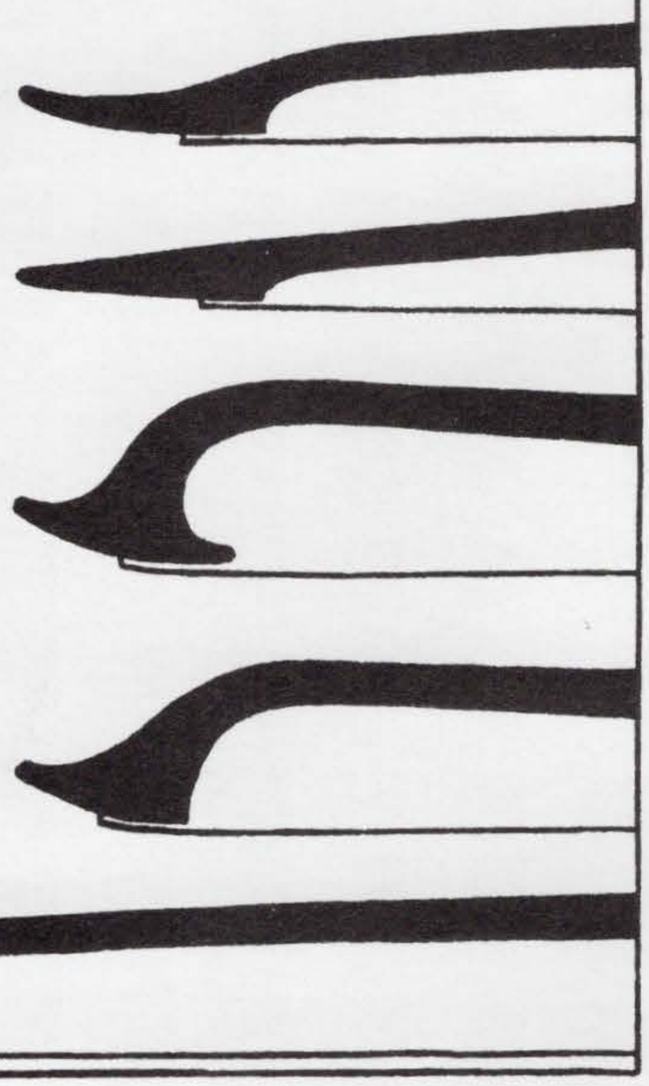

on
historical
principles

J.H.Clark, M.Phil.,

Pennyroyal,
Chacombe,
nr. Banbury,
Oxon OX17 2JH.

Magnificent in Brahms, catastrophic in Bach, this very strenuous bow stroke should be avoided for all ordinary purposes (perhaps for all purposes) of baroque fiddling. It is not characteristic of baroque music to be strenuous. On the other hand, it is often characteristic of baroque music to be robust.

There is nothing either historical (as shown by the contemporary evidence) or artistic (as shown by the musical results) to support the idea that baroque music has to be scaled-down and essentially reticent. 'Draw an honest and manly tone from the violin', wrote Leopold Mozart (*Violinschule*, Augsburg, 1756, II, 5); even a beginner, he adds, should not be put off merely because 'the roughness of a strong bowing which has not yet been purified is harsh to the ear', for with growing skill, 'purity will be combined with strength of tone'.

How can we take the strenuousness out of such a bow stroke, while keeping the robustness? We can modify the combination of factors. We can slow down the speed of the bow, while retaining most of the pressure, and the somewhat flat hair somewhat close to the bridge. To use a phrase which every good string player understands, we can play more into the string.

To play into the string means to rely less on speed than on pressure for strength of sound. A fast bow gets volume as well as a firm bow; but the effect is different. The fast bow sounds more agitated, the firm bow sounds more stable; and while both these emotions and many others do find their place in baroque music, and do require their appropriate techniques, on the whole a certain controlled excitement is its most characteristic quality. Baroque robustness calls not for strenuous sounds but for focused sounds.

One fact which may still come as a surprise to some modern musicians is that the baroque musicians, so far from recommending any undue reticence in the performance of their music, described their experience of music in terms of the strongest feeling. Yet they did so repeatedly; and we have to take this attitude of theirs most seriously into account.

The rich and massive impact of a Wagnerian string section will weigh too heavily on Bach or Handel, Purcell or Monteverdi. This we now know; yet these great baroque composers cannot move us as they moved their own contemporaries unless they touch our feelings just as warmly, in a different language of the emotions and a different texture of sonority and articulation. Thus any modern interpretation in which the feelings are held back and the volume is kept down is historically unauthentic and artistically insufficient. We need to be able to let go with baroque abandon in our baroque fiddling.

Vibrato

There is no doubt whatsoever that vibrato was a normal resource for string instruments throughout the baroque period. Martin Agricola (*Musica Instrumentalis Deudsch*, Wittenberg, 1529) and Ganassi (*Regola Rubertina*, Venice, 1542) already taught it as a 'trembling' of the fingers. Mersenne (*Harmonie Universelle*, Paris, 1636-7) states specifically that 'the tone of the violin' is rendered attractive 'by certain tremblings' and he subsequently states that 'the left hand must swing with great violence', though (thinking better of it) he wants this extreme vibrato 'used in moderation'. Jean Rousseau (*Traité de la Viole*, Paris, 1687) wrote 'two fingers being pressed one against the other, the one is held on the string, and the next strikes it very lightly' (this he calls *Batement*), and also 'one finger on the fret' (that he calls *Languer*); but he further taught that some degree of vibrato should be used 'in all contexts where the length of the note permits, and should last as long as the note'.

Of the virtuoso violinists, Geminiani (*Art of Playing on the Violin*, London, 1751) wrote: 'you must press the Finger strongly upon the String of the Instrument, and move the Wrist in and out slowly and equally'; and he taught that vibrato should be 'made use of as often as possible'. Leopold Mozart (*Violinschule*, Augsburg, 1756) wrote: 'the finger is pressed strongly on the string, and one makes a small movement with the whole hand'; but he thought it 'a mistake to give every note' a vibrato.

The artistic facts support and account for these historical facts. A very wide or slow or otherwise conspicuous vibrato is too disruptive of the natural clarity of baroque music to be used as a regular resource of expression, but has its value as a special resource: i.e. treated as an ornament like any other, and used only on notes significant enough to carry such an ornament.

A very rapid and intense vibrato is too agitating to the natural poise and balance of baroque music, and too obscuring to its natural transparency: indeed, a vibrato which is both wide and rapid has a more damaging effect than anything else in making the sound thick, opaque and altogether unsuitable for baroque fiddling. If it is combined with heavy, flat-haired, massive bowing, it takes us right back to the bad old days of weighty Bach and stodgy Handel. It

ROBERT DONINGTON

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will not do even as an intermittent ornament; and as a persistent colouring it would be as inartistic as it is unhistorical.

But a vibrato moderately wide and steady does not muddy the sound or agitate the mind, and is in no way incongruous with the baroque transparency or the baroque poise. On the contrary, a moderate vibrato is very necessary on string instruments, as it is with the voice, to give just that sparkle of natural vitality which is so characteristic of baroque music. The flat and uncoloured sound of string tone without any vibrato could only be long maintained in baroque music, if at all, for some quite special and rather theatrical effect, like the 'white', uncoloured voice in singing. A note or two here and there without vibrato makes a valuable contrast; but vibrato-less string tone never was and never should be a standard recourse in performing baroque music. Using no vibrato is a purely modern mistake.

On the one hand, a conspicuous vibrato serving as an expressive ornament on selected notes; on the other hand, an inconspicuous vibrato serving as natural colouring on most long or moderate notes but not necessarily short notes: this is what the baroque authorities seem sometimes to have prescribed, and sometimes taken for granted. They may not all have thought quite alike; but in the main, when they advised only an occasional or ornamental use of vibrato, they seem to have been thinking of the conspicuous use (both of the two-finger and of the one-finger varieties), while taking the more or less continuous but inconspicuous use for granted. And when they advised the more or less continuous use of vibrato, they certainly were not thinking of the conspicuous and ornamental use (which would be artistically intolerable if thus continued), but of the inconspicuous yet colourful use which comes naturally to the voice and the strings.

It is not very important whether we choose to use a conspicuous vibrato as an occasional ornament in baroque music, although we know that this was done, and even marked with special signs by a few French composers (for example, Marin Marais, in his *Pièces de Viole*, Paris, 1686 –, gives signs and names both to the two-finger vibrato, as *Pincé* or *Flattement*, and to the one-finger vibrato, as *Plainte*). But it is very important that we should understand the need to use a moderate vibrato as a normal though not an entirely continuous left-hand colouring of the tone in baroque music.

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Writing a regular saleroom column has its similarities to roulette: every now and then *Early Music* goes to press just after a series of really interesting sales full of rare and unusual instruments and every now and then it does not. Sadly the latter is true for this quarter. Compared with the sales scheduled for the second quarter of this year, the first quarter has had very little to offer by way of exciting activities in the saleroom.

Of course virtually every sale can provide one or two highlights. In Phillips' March sale, for instance, a fine six-keyed bassoon sold by the dealers Longman and Broderip realized £1,000. Longman and Broderip's bankruptcy in 1798 conveniently confirms this instrument as 18th century. In the same sale a particularly fine 'Stridente' mandolin dated 1890 made £240, a far cry from the instruments which normally bear this label and fetch around £25.

Both Tepper Galleries and Sotheby's staged their second sales of musical instruments in New York. The former was a long sale almost entirely devoted to violins, bows and violin books.

Sotheby's New York sale produced an interesting reflection on the current value of the pound. The major lot, the Greffuhle Stradivari of 1709 and one of only eight known inlaid violins by the master, was sold for $170,000. This price is some $30,000 short of the previous world auction record paid for the Lady Blunt Stradivari in 1971—but only in terms of dollars, since the price in pounds works out at just under £99,000, compared with the Lady Blunt's figure of £84,000.

The other notable violin in this sale was by Gennaro Gagliano, dated 1758, which fetched $24,000 (£13,953). Although Gennaro is not perhaps considered to be one of the leaders in this large family of makers, this violin was in an extraordinarily fine state and furthermore still possessed its original neck and wedge.

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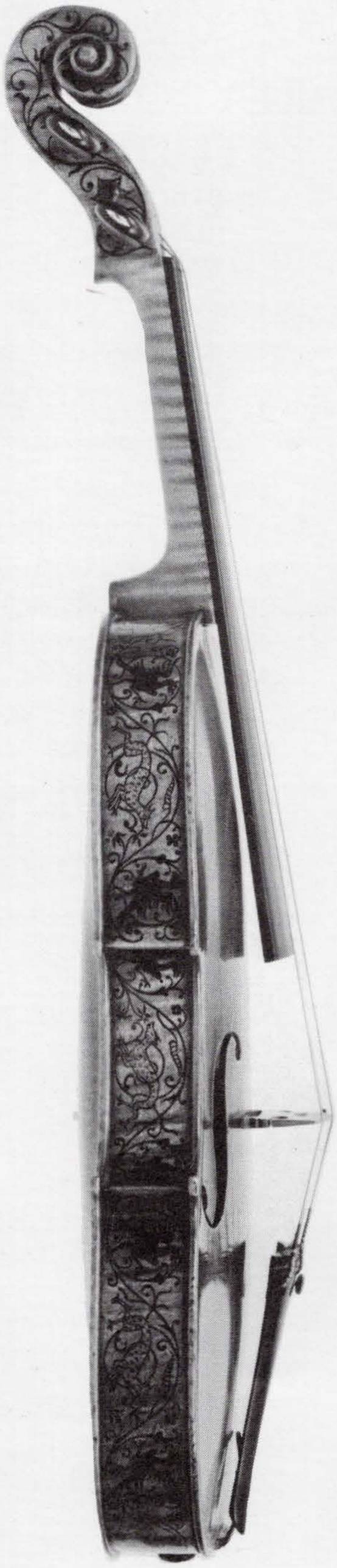

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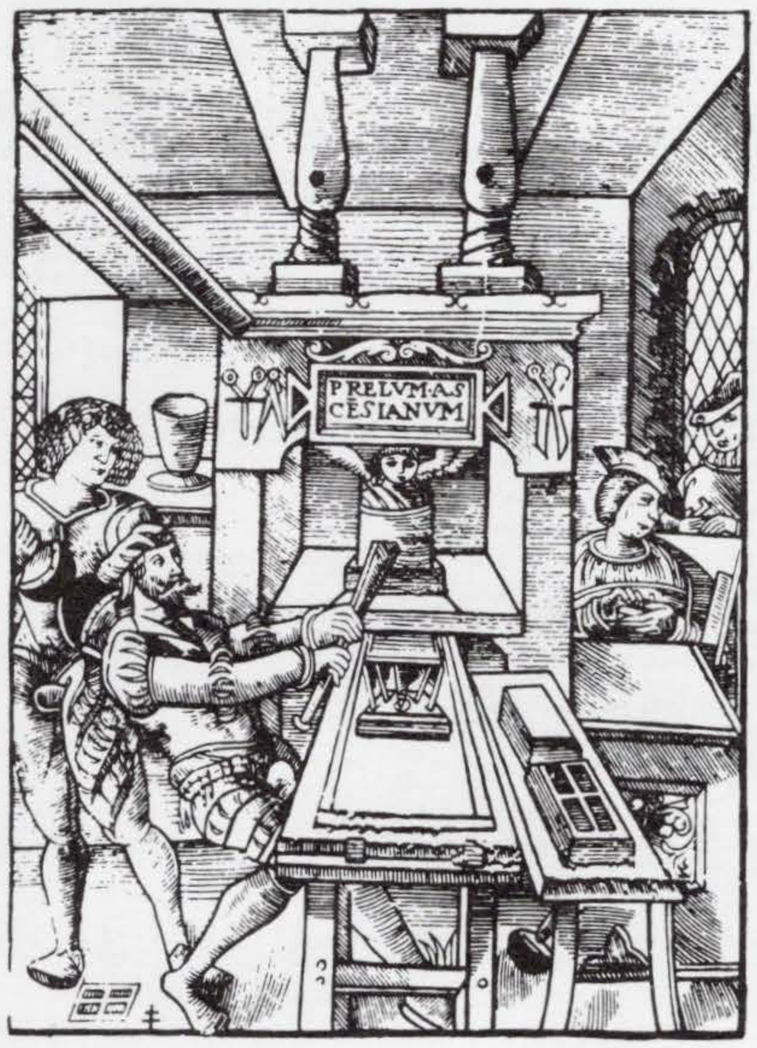

Music in the Renaissance

HOWARD MAYER BROWN

Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1976, £7.65, $10.95; paper £5.55, $7.95

If members of the musicological tribe pooh-pooh volumes surveying all or part of their field, and wonder why—apart from the prospect of huge royalty income—distinguished scholars should stoop to write them, they are badly mistaken. Not, I hope, about the royalties; but about the importance of such books to the discipline. These textbooks are read by far more, and far more impressionable, people than are specialized articles; they are the starting-point for many a scholarly education; and they can form taste and opinion in performers and consumers, the people who are the lifeblood of the profession. The appearance of a general book on the music of the Renaissance, written by one of the leading experts in this field, is thus worth all our attention.

Professor Brown's preface is clear about what he has set out to do: having chosen his list of the greatest composers of the 15th and 16th centuries, he describes their music in general terms and singles out a few of their pieces for a more detailed account. The evolution of musical style over two centuries is thus ascribed to, as well as described by, the seminal work of great composers. There is no reason to complain about this, though not everyone's list of great renaissance composers would be exactly that of Brown. But the oeuvre of renaissance musicians is on the whole not as sharply distinguishable as that of painters and architects; nor can one tell the whole story by concentrating on a few great names. Not only must *Kleinmeister* be mentioned, but some elements of a social history of musical art in the period have to be given if a balanced picture is sought. Professor Brown knows this, and some of the best pages in the book are those in which the Great Man theory is abandoned and musical phenomena are explained in general terms; an example is his excellent summary of the training and typical careers of singers and instrumentalists (pp. 25-26).

The book is divided into four sections, with the Early Renaissance (1420-90) and the Late Renaissance (1560-1600) separated by the High Renaissance (1490-1520) and a second High Renaissance (1520-60). The minor absurdity of this artificially prolonged 'high' might have been avoided through use of some neutral phrase such as 'mid-16th-century music'; even the author seems (p. 187) to prefer one of his chapter headings, 'The Post-Josquin Generation', as a general label for the period after 1520. According to the law of surveys, Renaissance music begins where medieval music leaves off; but to many people the late-14th-century age of Petrarch has elements of the Renaissance in it, just as the late-16th-century age of Tasso and Guarini strongly foreshadows the Baroque (Claude Palisca's *Baroque Music*, a companion volume to Brown's book, does include a welcome, if brief, overlapping of this kind). Still, beginning the musical Renaissance with the youth of Dufay, ending it with the early-to-mid madrigals of Monteverdi, gives a satisfactory, if conventional, frame for a picture of what we have generally agreed to call renaissance music.

In defining (pp. 3-4) what 'Renaissance' means in music, Brown sticks to technical features of musical style, postponing a discussion of humanistic musical thought until late in the book (pp. 337-43, 'Neo-Classical Experiment') and stressing the Northern character of the musical Renaissance as opposed to its Italianate cast in the other arts. His general summary of the period's musical achievements is sound enough, but in at least one aspect it seems not only conventional but old-fashioned. To say that 'the dominion of the church modes over melody and harmony was threatened and finally overcome by . . . the growth and development of new concepts of functional tonality' is to distort one of the major achievements of Renaissance musicians, the absorption into polyphony of modal theory and practice, an achievement brilliantly analysed in Bernhard Meier's recent *Die Tonarten der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie*. The continuing importance of plainchant, and hence of modal thinking, in the Renaissance is, not surprisingly, understated by Brown.

The composers chosen as major figures in this book often come in pairs: Dunstable-Power, Dufay-Binchois, Ockeghem-Busnois, Gombert-Willaert. This works only reasonably well. Dufay's importance, for example, is rightly stressed; but Binchois is not a figure of comparable importance, and a more precise focus might have resulted from placing the cosmopolitan Dufay against a larger number of his contemporaries, all figures of more circumscribed activity and more local importance. Elsewhere rather natural pairs, such as Josquin-Isaac, are not used; Isaac is in fact given something less than his due. Other important composers treated too briefly, or with less than a balanced view of their whole output, are Vincenzo Ruffo, Andrea Gabrieli, Philippe de Monte and especially Cipriano de Rore.

In a survey one does not expect to find the latest detailed results of musicological research. It nevertheless seems odd that in the pages devoted to Dufay, Brown does not take into account the important work of Craig Wright on

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Dufay's biography and of Alejandro Planchart on the Masses, work that substantially alters the older picture of this composer. And where detailed information is offered, it should be as accurate as can be found anywhere. Some scattered examples of minor inaccuracies in this volume follow: the date suggested for the Casanatense manuscript (p. 89) is probably almost ten years too late; the Pesaro manuscript mentioned on p. 97 as 'late sixteenth-century' is actually a late 15th-century manuscript with a subsequent addition; the Josquin *Ave Maria* discussed on p. 123 is probably a much earlier work than Brown suggests; the date of 1495 given (p. 119) for a letter comparing Josquin and Isaac as composers should be 1502; there was in all probability no print called *La Pecorina* issued in the 1540s, as is claimed on p. 200; neither Nasco nor Gero was known as 'Maistre Jean' (p. 209); Willaert's psalms for double chorus appeared in print in 1550, not 1557, as is said on p. 206; there were six books of Marenzio madrigals, not three (as on p. 351), available in modern edition when the book was written (a seventh has since appeared); Gesualdo's second wife was a niece of Alfonso II, not of his grandfather Alfonso I (p. 358).

A few apparent mistakes are probably the result of inept copy-editing; examples are on p. 28, where Brunelleschi is described as the architect of the whole cathedral in Florence rather than of its dome; on p. 60, where music of the turn of the 15th century is said to have been written 'for the papal court at Avignon, 1309-76, and afterwards'; on p. 93, where it is said that Ercole I d'Este 'was duke (1431-1505)', confusing life-span and reign. It would serve no purpose here to give more instances; but one should remember that students acquire misinformation with great readiness and hang on to it with great determination, so a careful checking of factual accuracy is always in order.

My general impression is that rather little editorial supervision of any kind was employed in the preparation of this book. This is nowhere more evident than in the musical examples. Their number and distribution, to start with; there are four pages of examples of Victoria's work, several of the excerpts not of particularly telling importance, whereas the whole chapter on instrumental music has only one brief example. Although some of the examples are surprisingly long (the four devoted to Ockeghem account for seven of the 17 pages given that composer) there are no complete pieces. A small anthology of complete works or sections thereof, while doubtless more trouble for the publishers, would have been much more helpful to the readers than these sometimes arbitrarily truncated examples. The examples are taken from a variety of modern editions, with no attempt made at standardizing editorial procedures. Sometimes all originally text-bearing voices are given text, sometimes not. Thus in Ockeghem's *Missa Mi-Mi*, a work in which all the voices are said to be 'nearly equivalent to each other' (p. 74), the example, from the Gloria, has text, after the opening bars, only between the two staves on which the music is compressed; when, on p. 79, Brown calls attention to the music at the 'Amen' beginning in bar 144 one is surprised to find that in the example the word does not appear until bar 151 (in fact it first appears in the top voice in bar 146 of Plamenac's edition, from which the example is taken). Lasso's *Gustate et videte*, described (p. 301) as a work highly 'informed and controlled by the words on which it is based', is illustrated by a two-page example in which only the top voice is completely supplied with text.

There are other problems with the examples. The very first set (1-3 in chapter one) contrasts the full harmonies and euphonious sound of two works by Leonel Power with the emptier and rougher quality of a motet by Ciconia, without the author's giving the necessary qualification that the English pieces are devotional chamber antiphons, Ciconia's work a festive 'public' motet. Form and style did not always follow function in the Renaissance, but the possibility of such relationship surely deserves mention. In the chapter on Dufay the second example does not contrast with the first in level of motion, as it is said to do on p. 32; and the 'new sense of tonality in Dufay's music' (p. 34) is but poorly illustrated by examples taken from Besseler's edition of the chansons, with its arbitrary and uncertain use of editorial accidentals. Basing one's analysis on features found only in a modern edition is dangerous anyway, as one can see in Brown's discussion of the 'formal' or 'neutral' attitude of Busnois toward texts (p. 86); the illustration here is text underlay as given in Helen Hewitt's edition of a Busnois chanson from the *Odhecaton*, a possible but certainly not definitive modern fitting of words to music.

Discussion of music, whether illustrated by examples or not, rightfully fills most of Brown's pages. On the whole his descriptive and analytical remarks are excellent, and the language is clear and straightforward. A certain amount of casual verbiage could have been pruned to make room for additional material, perhaps; the book as it stands is a fairly easy 'read', unusually so for a textbook. But many students and not a few teachers will see this with gratitude rather than otherwise. Most of the discussion is conducted on safe ground, with little that is challenging or new in outlook. On the other hand, the longer descriptions are fresh and personal in tone, and attractively so. Aside from the tonal bias already noted, there is little to take serious exception to. It is surprising, given Brown's known qualifications and interests, to find so few pages on instrumental music. There seems too little attention paid to theory and theorists for a period in which academic controversy over musical questions was so widespread and so intimately connected with musical developments. The discussion of the madrigal strikes me as too much centred on the serious, neo-Petrarchan side of things; too little concerned with aspects of vocal scoring and texture—far more important matters, I think, than imitation or non-imitation, diatonic or chromatic harmony; and

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too quick in passing over mid-16th-century composers and styles. But here I am starting simply to state matters of personal opinion and preference, of which there will be no end for informed readers of any general book of this kind.

Having written what has turned out to be a somewhat more negative review than I had intended to do, I should say by way of summary that this is by no means a bad book; I don't think Howard Mayer Brown, for whose musical and scholarly gifts I have the greatest respect and for whose service to the field of early music all of us are grateful, could write a bad book. If I do think he could have been a bit more venturesome in concept and more careful in attention to detail, it is because I think a truly splendid book could have been the result. Is a revised edition too much to hope for?

JAMES HAAR

Josquin des Prez
Edited by EDWARD E. LOWINSKY in collaboration with Bonnie J. Blackburn
London, Oxford University Press, 1976 [*recte* 1977], £25

Six years ago Professor Lowinsky held a Festival-Conference on Josquin in New York, and the news immediately spread that those who were unable to attend had missed one of the most stimulating musicological meetings in living memory: the distinction of the participants, the range of scholarship from both sides of the Atlantic and the variety of approaches offered had all combined to make the occasion memorable for all concerned. Now at last the papers from that congress are published, and the volume is the *Kongressbericht* to beat all *Kongressberichte*, not only because of the unified focus and quality of the papers but also because it exhibits the very highest standards in so many ways—in the editing, in the typography, in the book-production, in the presentation.

Twenty-five pounds may seem a high price, but it is the equivalent of two years' subscription to one of the major journals, and its standard is considerably more even. And if the six years' gestation period seems a little long, particularly in view of the speed at which Renaissance studies have progressed recently, it is clear that none of the time has been wasted: every detail, down to the excellent index, has been controlled with the most scrupulous care. Lowinsky has in fact produced his own personal Festschrift and the result will remain a worthy tribute to him as well as to Josquin.

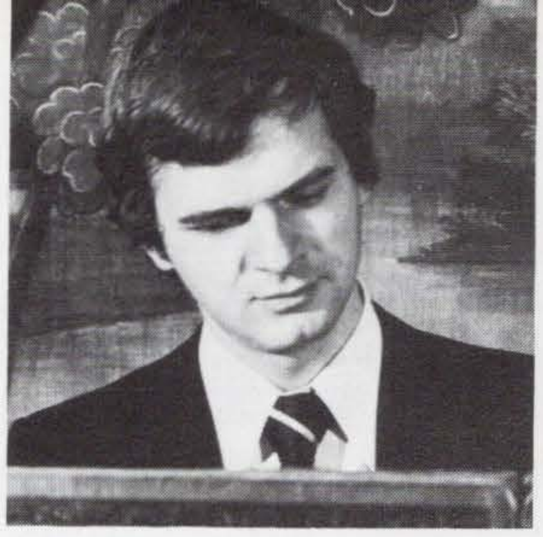
Two features in particular will make the volume important for readers of *Early Music*: the first is the exemplary musicological writing, and the second is in the one slightly disappointing section, to which I will return.

First, the musicological importance. Lowinsky states in his preface that 'There are times in the life of scholarship when it takes a concerted team effort to create the momentum needed to determine new directions of study and research in a given field for the next generation or two.' His plan is amply fulfilled in many of the papers: Jeremy Noble shows how a fully professional study of benefices can cast substantial light on a composer's life and circumstances; Herbert Kellman cuts with a razor edge through several of the easy assumptions that permeate Josquin's biography with a methodical grace that must be applied to most other early composers; Arthur Mendel addresses himself to the question of how far a computer can usefully be employed towards the analysis of style and, as one might expect from so sensitive a musician, gives a persuasively argued but properly qualified affirmative answer; Jacquelyn Mattfield points to the enormous amount of work still to be done on plainchant sources of the 15th century; Edgar Sparks gives a virtuoso performance in style and source analysis or rather—in view of the more obviously scientific approaches of some of the other contributors—criticism in dismissing six more motets from the Josquin canon; Claudio Gallico initiates a much wider approach to the frottola repertory by convincingly putting Josquin's three Italian songs into perspective; Robert Stevenson, in studying Josquin transmission in Hispanic sources, shows how much can be discovered from a careful analysis of the composer's reputation among later theorists and poets—an approach that could well be applied to the other European countries; Winfried Kirsch lays a firm foundation for the analysis of Josquin sources in Germany and Switzerland and outlines some aspects of its importance; Friedrich Blume calls for a 'Köchel' of Josquin's works; and so on.

Equally interesting are the articles by scholars whose line of research is reflected in their other publications of recent years. Howard Mayer Brown continues his search among lute sources and their implications to draw some extremely interesting conclusions about chromaticism; Lewis Lockwood draws once again on the Ferrarese documents at Modena to find, among other things, a *Doppelmeister*, Josquin Doro, who seems to have been at Ferrara in 1516-17 and in 1520; Walter Wiora applies melodic analysis to bring us closer to the nature of Josquin's style; James Haar provides a more widely based history of the Missa *La sol fa re mi* and its cantus firmus; Saul Novak gives an object-lesson in linear analysis for early music.

And so one could go on right through the volume with only two slight complaints: Willem Elders discusses Josquin's cantus firmus usage apparently unaware that much of his material is duplicated in Sparks's *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet*; and Gustave Reese omits to mention that his fascinating study of the Missa *De Beata Virgine* overlaps considerably with the dissertation of Nors S. Josephson. Apart from that I noticed only four minute typographical errors (in nearly 800 pages).

But the starred first, as it were, must surely go to Lowinsky himself for his extraordinary paper on Josquin and Ascanio Sforza in which he shows, among many other things, that even before Dufay's death Josquin had been given an enormous and extremely unusual benefice, presumably because of



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his excellence as a composer, that Ascanio's reputation as a stingy patron is largely myth, and that the time is ripe for a completely new assessment of Josquin's early years. Perhaps I may add to it a couple of details from northern sources: the Daniele de Schak at Gian Galeazzo Sforza's chapel in 1477 (p. 40) had previously been registered as a clerk at the Burgundian court chapel in 1470 as Daniel Scak (Brussels, Archives du Royaume, CC 1925, f.49*v*, mistranscribed by Marix as 'Daniel Stach'); and the Enricus 'germanis cytharoedus missus ab oris' (p. 46) might well be identified with the famous lutenist 'Henricus Carolo Burgundionum duci nuper serviens' mentioned by Tinctoris in his *De inventione et usu musicae* and who could possibly be Henri Bouclers (who is actually only registered in Philip the Good's court, not that of his successor Charles the Bold) but could also be Hayne van Ghiseghem whose skill as a lutenist is elsewhere attested and who has not yet been identified in any source later than 1472 even though the style of his works is strong evidence that he lived until the 1490s. With or without these details, the impending close of the great era of music at the Burgundian court was surely a major influence on the development of Renaissance music in Italy.

To turn now to the more disappointing section of the book, the section that will surely become required reading for anyone seriously concerned with performing early music: it is really quite startling how much less convincing are the discussions of performance practice and the workshops at which various groups described their approach to the music. And the problem seems to lie not with the scholars and musicians involved in the discussions but with the subject itself. Almost every page clearly shows that the study of performance practice for early renaissance music is in its infancy.

Perhaps the finest contribution here is Frank d'Accone's careful survey of the Italian musical institutions that would have performed Josquin's sacred music: he ranges wide and offers an enormous amount of new documentary material. But even d'Accone is far less assured than in most of his other distinguished articles on individual establishments and their musical personnel: at the point of drawing conclusions he wavers, and rightly so, ending with an extremely cautious and strongly qualified series of conflicting arguments.

Otherwise there is an extraordinary range of disagreement. In fact it seems that the only topic on which firm answers can be offered is the matter of editorial accidentals and chromaticism—this in spite of the spirited argument on musica ficta at the end of the volume in which Professor Lowinsky slightly overreacts to the caution of some of his colleagues. In that subject, at least, the arguments are firm, the viewpoints clear, and the discussions based on a substantial body of careful scholarly publications. But texture, articulation, underlay, pronunciation, tempo, tone-colour and dynamics all wander in and out of the pages in the most unsatisfactory manner.

That is not to say that the discussions are poor: they are full of insights, challenging assertions and crucial questions that should concern all performers of early music. But their general vagueness comes as a shock in the context of so much musicological excellence. It is merely, I think, that the factual basis for these discussions has not yet been laid. Anybody who has tried both straight historical musicology and writing about performance practice will know which is the more difficult.

What is even stranger is that there is plenty of information on most of these matters—oblique information, to be sure, and widely scattered, but sufficient to make way for considerably more serious discussions than are evident here. The problem seems to be one of marshalling the information. I have said before, and will no doubt say again, that there is an urgent need for a critical compilation of the evidence on these matters, arranged under topics somewhat after the manner of Donington's *Interpretation of Baroque Music*. Until we have our medieval Donington performance practice will continue to be a poor relation of historical musicology. DAVID FALLOWS

(Munich) Deutsches Museum: Objekt- und Demonstrationsverzeichnis: Stand Oktober 1976
Die Blasinstrumente im Deutschen Museum: Beschreibender Katalog
HEINRICH SEIFERS
R. Oldenbourg Verlag, DM12.50

How much information should the catalogue of a musical instrument museum contain? After sober reflection, I am inclined to recommend following the dictum 'less is more'. In the first place, we would all have a clearer idea of what instruments survive from the past if more museums would issue relatively simple checklists, rather than waiting for that Golden Age when all their instruments have been thoroughly studied, a Golden Age which is apt never to come, especially if they do not issue checklists so we know what they have. Moreover, general visitors to museums most need simple lists and brief descriptions to help them orient themselves on their visits. In any case, even the most complete catalogue cannot replace contact with the real object that scholars, players and instrument makers all need if they are to understand the nature of old instruments. All in all, the value of a cursory list in aiding us to locate what we want or need to study and in providing us with at least a preliminary description of the instruments is only gradually coming to be understood by museum curators. Knowing what a collection contains is worth the price of any amount of misinformation that such provisional checklists are apt to propagate. By issuing a brief gallery guide—an *Objekt- und Demonstrationsverzeichnis* that is cheap enough for everyone to afford and small enough to be carried conveniently around the museum—and supplementing it with a series of more complete but still relatively rudimentary catalogues—the first describes all the wind instruments in the collec-

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tion—the directors of the Deutsches Museum in Munich show themselves to be sensibly aware of the need to make their collections more accessible and hence of more value to the scholarly community. They have the right idea, even if it is not always carried out in quite the ideal way.

Appropriately for a technical museum, the instruments in Munich are arranged systematically, by instrumental type, and the gallery guide naturally follows the organization of the exhibition area. Each instrument is given a number within the system and described in a single line of type. Thus the transverse flute made by L. Walch at the beginning of the 19th century (or the second quarter of the 18th century if the entry in the catalogue is to be believed—the guide and the catalogue do not always agree) belongs to category 4 (aerophones which are flutes), subdivision 04 (cross flutes), item 04 (the fourth object of this sort on display). Aside from placing it within the general schema, and identifying its maker and date of origin, the gallery guide merely gives its inventory number and adds one or two letters to explain whether it is original or a copy, and whether or not it is played as a part of the regular guided tours of the collections, or whether it can be made to sound by the casual visitor. The catalogue—only mildly confusing in that it is organized according to a numbering system different from that of the guide—adds some further information: a transcription of the makers' marks on each instrument, the pitch and compass of each, measurements of the overall length and the diameter of the bore, and a brief description including the number of keys or finger holes, the kind of wood and so on.

Fifteen minutes spent studying the gallery guide suffices to gain a rough idea of the holdings of the museum. Readers of *Early Music*, for example, will be most interested in knowing that the Deutsches Museum owns two harpsichords, a clavichord and a regal made in the 16th century, and four cornetts from the 16th or 17th centuries. And they can easily find the more than 100 instruments—out of a total of about 1,200—built before 1800, including an alto recorder with a body by L. Hotteterre and a head joint by Denner. Readers can see more or less at a glance that the museum has made a point of collecting 20th-century instruments—including older types like recorders and harpsichords—manufactured by German firms. And they can locate easily the other prized possessions of the collection, two flutes made by Theobald Boehm and a third that has been attributed to him, a saxophone from the workshop of Adolphe Sax, and so on. Moreover, a small pamphlet inserted within the larger one lists the instruments not on display but in the study collection, accessible only to qualified visitors. Unfortunately though, the checklist of instruments in the study collection does not supply even approximate dates of manufacture or enough identification to enable the student to know which objects might repay further study.

It might be argued that the catalogue does not provide enough information to satisfy the needs of performers, scholars or makers. I am inclined to disagree, though, on the grounds that its function is principally to help identify those instruments that an individual may wish to examine more closely. Only one thing is lacking to help the student of organology: a photograph of each instrument, even a small one without much detail, would aid all classes of readers immeasurably, and such an addition would be worth the extra cost involved.

Otherwise, the only serious criticism I have of the catalogue is that it indicates the pitch level, and in some cases the compass, of each instrument in a manner that is ambiguous. The compasses are given not for the particular instrument catalogued—admittedly an approximation at best—but rather for the instrumental type in question. As long as their decision to offer general rather than particular information is clearly understood, no difficulties should arise. But the absolute pitch level of the instruments is given in a way that is confusing. The Hotteterre-Denner recorder, for example, is said to be an alto in g^1 (that is, it sounds the G above middle C with all fingers down). But the description adds that the instrument is tuned to F sharp at a pitch level where A = 440 Hz. I take it that Heinrich Seifers, the compiler of the catalogue, means that the recorder was intended to be in G, although it is actually pitched a semitone below present-day pitch. But how does he know that it was not intended to be a recorder in F and that it is actually pitched a semitone high? Moreover, since no amplifying remarks are added about the other recorders, are we to assume that their pitch level is given at A = 440 Hz? But then what is one to make of the recorder in b^1, which is tentatively described as a 'Flûte du quatre'? In short, the catalogue does not give the actual pitches of the wind instruments in Munich—although it aspires to do so—and that is a pity.

HOWARD MAYER BROWN

Publications

It is good to be able to welcome a new journal to the early music scene. *Ficta*, published in Buenos Aires, appears every four months and is the first on the subject in Spanish. Its contributors include both European and South American scholars.

Recordings

Abbey Records had a new burst of activity this year. Living up to their hall mark and their tradition of recording authentic sound in cathedrals and colleges, they have included early music among their new issues. This was represented by the Dolmetsch Consort playing favourite recorder music from five centuries in the Great Hall at Losely House, Guildford, and David Lumsden playing Bach at New College, Oxford.

In March, RCA Records announced the signing of an exclusive recording contract with the London Early Music Group which will run for several years and include an extensive series of recordings. Among the composers whose music will be recorded are William Byrd, John Tavener, John Dunstable and others, including works by continental composers. The recordings will be made in this country at venues which reflect the acoustic of the particular works recorded and it is hoped that records will be issued by the autumn of this year.

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Anthems and Motets
MATTHEW LOCKE
Edited by Peter le Huray
Stainer & Bell for the Royal Musical Association (*Musica Britannica*, 38), £15

This handsome edition fills an important gap in the published repertory of English Restoration church music. It includes all Locke's Latin motets, and all his English anthems save some early pieces for men's voices.

The works are among the most significant English sacred music of their period. In particular, the anthems with strings which Locke composed for the Chapel Royal in the early 1660s reveal a sophistication of construction and treatment, and a range of mood, far beyond that of contemporaneous examples—even the ambitious coronation anthems of Henry Cooke, for instance, being crude and miniaturist by comparison; indeed, Locke's achievement in the genre was not to be equalled by any English composer until Humfrey returned from his studies abroad in 1667. Several of Locke's Latin motets, too, are on a large scale and all of them are scored for strings as well as voices; but they are not of uniform musical interest and tend in some cases to be diffuse, lacking the clarity of form which distinguishes the best of the English anthems.

Locke was a bold innovator, exploring several techniques which were to be more fully exploited in the anthems of younger men. Humfrey's concern for structural symmetries and his use of ritornelli to develop, rather than merely reiterate, ideas disclosed in vocal passages; Blow's fondness for extended declamatory passages and for elaborate instrumental accompaniment of solos, ensembles and choruses; Purcell's love of antiphonal effects, massive sonorities, and the complex harmonic interaction of independent part-writing: all were indebted, in varying degrees, to the church music of Locke. His eclecticism, too, was an important influence, embracing as it did both French and, more especially, Italian elements which his successors would more fully assimilate into the English style. Locke's great ceremonial anthem *Be thou exalted, Lord*, for example—the work which so thrilled Pepys at its first performance in 1666—includes magnificent polychoral writing for voices and strings in direct line of descent from the Venetian school; but its five-part instrumental scoring and heavily-dotted symphonies assume the French manner with an assurance which gives the lie to Locke's sour remark that he 'never yet saw any *Forain Instrumental Composition* (a few *French Courants* excepted) worthy an *English* mans Transcribing'. In more intimate works, such as *When the Son of man*, the precision of Locke's declamation foreshadows that of Blow and Purcell; but the fluent counterpoint of the string accompaniment is in the Jacobean tradition.

The new edition assembles this wealth of diverse music for the first time under one cover and includes more than a dozen works hitherto unpublished. At £15 it is, in view of Musica Britannica's sumptuous presentation, very reasonably priced by comparison with several other scholarly series—especially those of some Continental publishing houses. The music engraving, by Polygrafia of Czechoslovakia, has a clean and attractive appearance, though one feels a pang of regret for the elegant and distinctive music type formerly used by Musica Britannica.

Peter le Huray's Introduction is a model of its kind. After giving a concise account of the Restoration Chapel Royal, the musical forces available there, and Locke's rather nebulous connection with the Chapel establishment, it goes on to deal with some important matters affecting modern performance: ornamentation; continuo realization (including the vexed question of where and how a string bass should be used); instrumentation; and tempo, rhythm and dynamics. Each problem is illuminated with specific documentary evidence, lucidly and succinctly expounded. The Textual Commentary is equally noteworthy for its clarity, the lists of variants being both leavened and very usefully amplified with a good deal of prose. I confess to finding some textual commentaries—those of a predominantly algebraic appearance—rather daunting: this one is a pleasure to use. My only reservation concerns the sigla devised to refer to manuscripts. The standard RISM abbreviations of library names are employed, but shelf-marks are excluded in favour of numbers which relate solely to the table of sources of this volume (given on p. 149): thus 'EL 2' refers not to Ely Cathedral MS 2, but to MS 19, which simply happens to be the second Ely manuscript cited as a source. I question whether this mode of abbreviation, received practice though it has become, is really a worthwhile economy; after all, shelf-marks soon gain a familiarity useful in dealing with editions of other music.

The standard of editorial work is exemplary, not least in the care with which the volume has been seen through the press. An exhaustive check of both the text and the commentary revealed only a tiny number of misprints. The absence of any editorial clutter in the music—especially of editorial suggestions for over-dotting and *notes inégales*—will not meet with universal approval, but a plain text is nonetheless to be welcomed. Apposite over-dotting is generally obvious enough in this music, while the few passages which do call for careful thought, such as the symphonies of *Be thou exalted, Lord*, offer a salutory reminder that heterogeneous rhythmic detail should not necessarily be tidied away out of existence. (All the same, I

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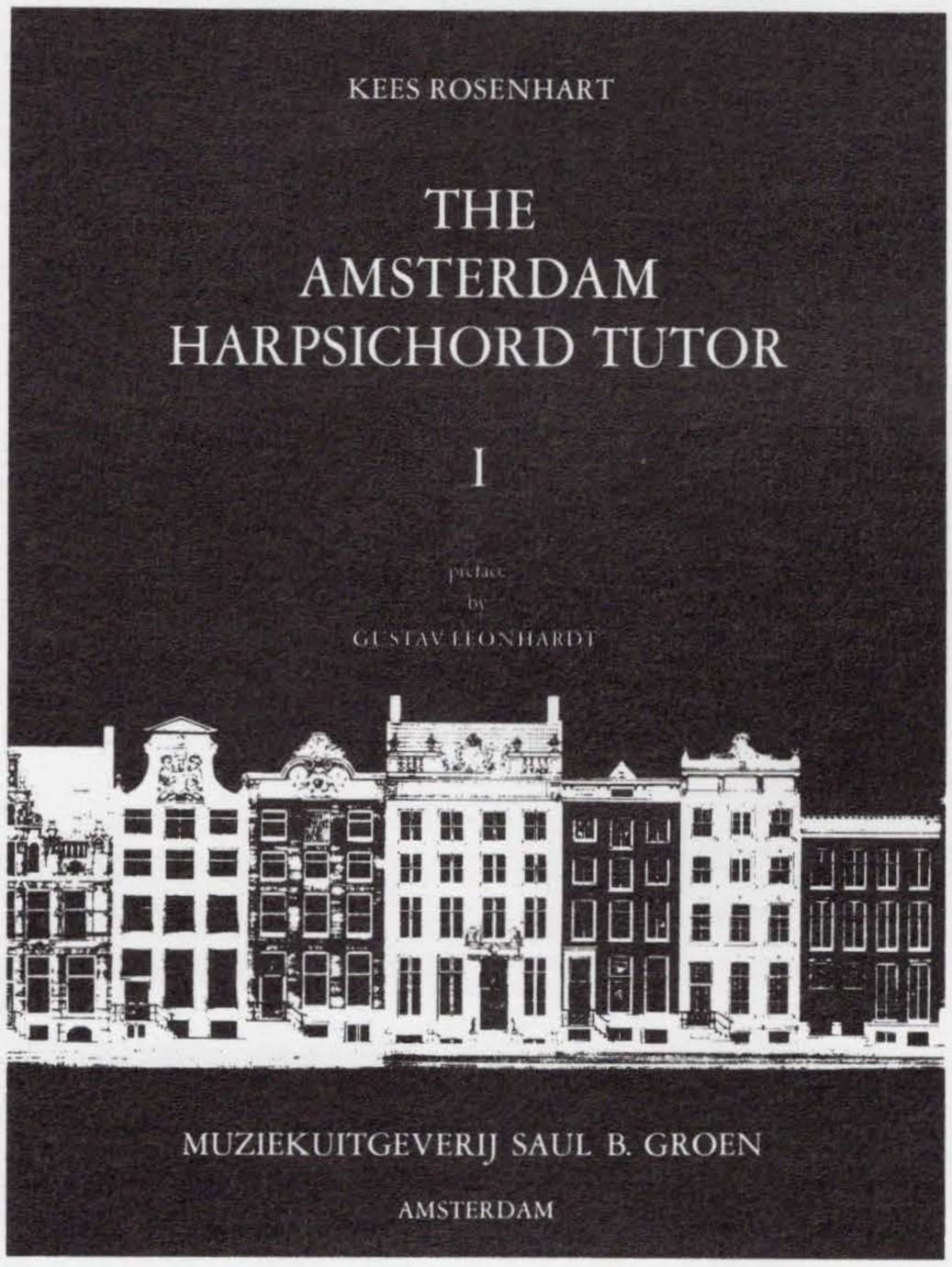

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suspect that Dr le Huray, in his Introduction, both simplifies and exaggerates the arguments against overdotting in Locke.) Editorial rhythmic markings for *notes inégales* would have held dangers of a different kind—perhaps misleading the unwary performer into a mannerism primarily of rhythm, rather than of phrasing.

Other conventions of the original notation have also been preserved intact. Anomalous note-values—commonly found at joins between sections, and especially where a vocal and an instrumental line share a stave in the original score—have been carefully standardized by means of additional notes tied back and shown as editorial (e.g. in bar 92 of *O be joyful*). This treatment is arguably fussy, for a single clause in the statement of editorial procedure could cover all such instances; but it has a useful merit in enabling one to picture the layout of the source. Partial key-signatures have been retained, too: a more contentious area, this, for contemporary usage was itself inconsistent. *How doth the city* and the opening of *Not unto us, O Lord*, for example—both in G minor—have signatures respectively of two flats and one flat.

Locke's few dynamic markings, generally given only at the top of contemporary scores, have been added in square brackets to all the parts, though several are unaccountably missing from the organ stave. Other original endorsements, such as 'verse' and 'full', 'simphonie' and 'retor', are nearly always meticulously distinguished from similar editorial directions—though it was surely unnecessary to retain the archaic spelling—but there is some typographical confusion in *Be thou exalted, Lord*. Some of Locke's indications of scoring ('Band of Violins', 'First Choir', etc, at bar 1, 'Violins, Theorbos and Viols, to the Organ' at bar 28, and so forth) are printed in italics, while others ('Consort' at bars 12 and 20, 'Band of Violins' at bars 95 and 129) are in roman type—as is the purely editorial naming of parts. The latter is printed in square brackets where it occurs in mid-line (as at bars 12 and 20)—though not in the margin—but the brackets are occasionally missing (bar 17). A more serious point is that the contrasting instrumental forces used in this anthem, violins and viols, are not always clearly specified. At one or two places where the autograph is obscure and the instrumentation has to be inferred from details of the rhythmic style (bars 126, 145 *et seq.*) the editor offers no guidance.

The editorial organ parts supplied for most of the pieces are invariably tasteful but often curiously sparse in harmonic texture. It is difficult to believe that continuo players in Locke's day would have resorted to quite so many bare fifths in order to avoid doubling thirds or suspensions present in vocal or instrumental parts. Certainly the contemporary organ parts which survive for a few of the anthems, though mostly in only three parts, are less reticent, and may—as Dr le Huray indeed points out—add considerably to the harmonic substance. The editorial filling-out necessary in the more skeletal of these contemporary organ parts has been discreetly carried out and is scrupulously printed in small type. In a few places the result demands an awkward stretch (*How doth the city*, bar 49; *Turn thy face from my sins*, bar 70), but the originals could, for that matter, pose similar problems (*Lord, let me know mine end*, bar 34). One doubts, however, whether Locke—himself an organist and author of a treatise on continuo playing—would have countenanced the consecutive octaves which creep into one wholly editorial organ part (*When the Son of man*, bars 81, 83, 84, 86).

These criticisms are, of course, carping: that such tiny details loom so large is indicative of the excellence of the whole. It only remains now for Dr le Huray's invaluable editorial work to bear fruit in well-informed performances. Twenty or so voices and a string trio or quartet suffice for nearly all the music in the volume: perfectly practicable for many a choir, and a refreshing addition to its repertoire. Will Musica Britannica please give us some off-prints?

BRUCE WOOD

Cantica Sacra, 1618

RICHARD DERING

Edited by Peter Platt

Stainer & Bell, 1974 (*Early English Church Music,* 15), £10.50

This edition of Dering's *Cantica Sacra* of 1618 reminds us once more of a fascinating aspect of the music of the twilight, or indeed of the whole, of the Renaissance period: the frequent difficulty of defining the style of an individual composer and the ease with which some composers will change from one national or sectarian idiom to another as the need or whim arises, the attitude of the craftsman rather than the artist. Like Peter Philips, Dering spent some of his most productive years on the Continent (he was a Catholic for at least the latter part of his life), during which he published two volumes of Latin motets (à 5, 1617 and à 6, 1618) and two of Italian *canzonetti* (à 3, 1620 and à 4, 1620) through the press of Phalèse in Antwerp. If Platt's view of his movements is correct (see *Music & Letters,* xxxiii (1952), 41ff), he had already composed viol fancies and dances, and a handful of Anglican pieces, music indubitably English in idiom, before migrating to Europe. Yet who, ignorant of the composer's name, would ascribe the six-part motets of 1618 to an Englishman?

They clearly belong to a progressive madrigalian variety of *prima prattica*, with only occasional use of imitation and marked sectionalism rather than the long paragraphs of Palestrina. The Venetian style in its more sober guise comes to mind, especially in such details as the persistent tendency to sound the leading note against its suspension at cadences, and in the remarkable sequence of augmented triads at 'si est dolor' in no. 14, *O vos omnes*.

The editing has been by and large competently done. There is one obvious misprint in no. 18, *Paratum cor meum*, bar 106, 2nd Tenor, where the B should be a crotchet. Other peculiarities proved, when checked with the source (copy in the British Library), to have been accurately transcribed. The strangest of these is also in *Paratum*, bar 61 (echoed at bar 65) where an E sharp

NOTES

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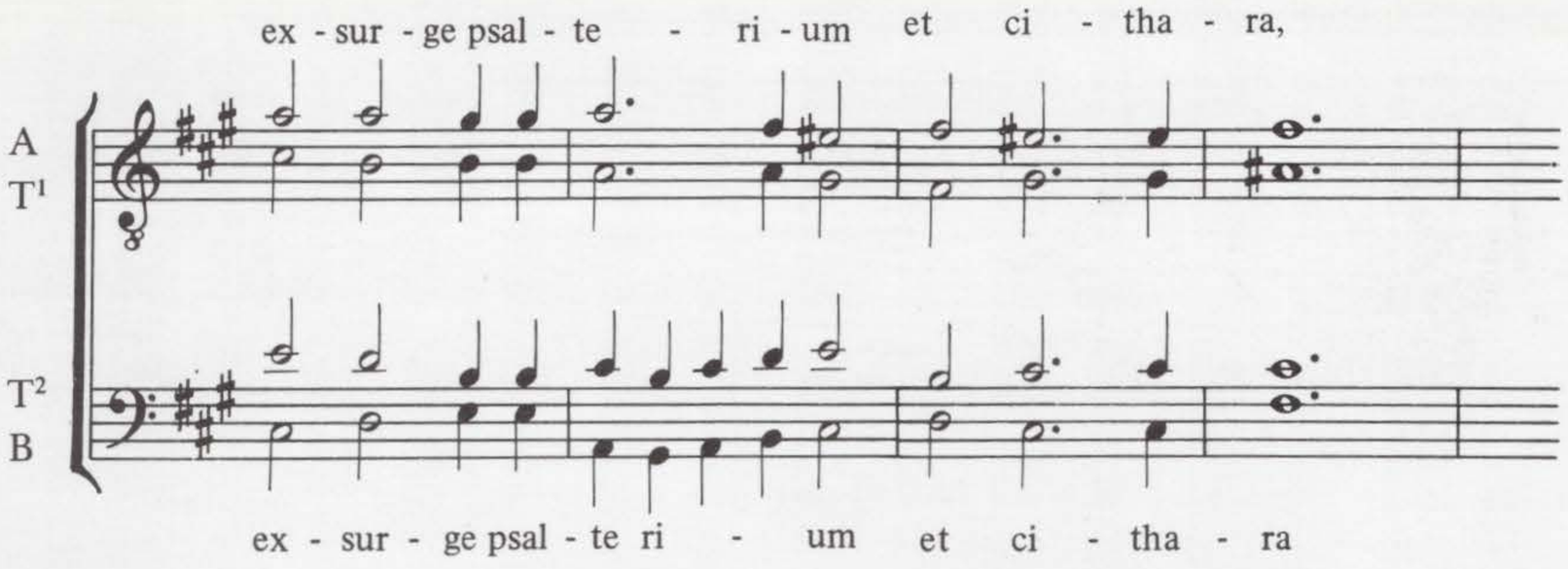
in the Alto clashes with an E natural in the 2nd Tenor (see ex.). This the editor presumably interprets as a variant of the familiar English cadence clash. However, this context is not a cadence, and there is no suspension or any of the mitigating linear curves which usually render such passages credible. I prefer to believe that the printer or his copyist wrote E in the 2nd Tenor part instead of C sharp, and copied the mistake in the echo. Occasionally one might feel that accidentals should be read back to anticipatory notes (e.g. no. 1, *Jubilate Deo*, bar 5, 2nd Soprano, A sharp), though to do this at the opening of no. 10, *Ardens est* (bar 3, 2nd Soprano, C sharp) would produce a melodic tritone.

Mention of E sharp and A sharp will already have conveyed the correct impression that the pieces have been transposed. Those with *chiavette* (nos. 1-6 and 11-18, all $G_2G_2C_2C_3C_3F_3$) are a minor third down, those in standard clefs (the remainder of the twenty-one have $C_1C_1C_3C_4C_4F_4$) are up a tone. It hardly needs saying that key signatures of one, two or three sharps make it unnecessarily difficult to think clearly about musica ficta, and no one pitch is likely to suit every choir. A welcome change in general editorial policy means that future EECM volumes will present the music at the original notated pitch. On the other hand, the editor has wisely kept the note values of the original, which has a semiminim pulse, 'except in passages in triple time where the source employs the archaic *tripla* notation'. He has in fact halved the note values of the *tripla* sections, but has not indicated this fact, nor that the original notation implies an equality between the $\frac{2}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{2}$ bars in the transcription, a point which often floors uninformed choirmasters and madrigal groups. The seventh part-book contains a *bassus pro organo* indicating the lowest note at any given point. This has been printed economically on the bass voice line, except in no. 21, *Te laudamus*, a strikingly late-Giovanni Gabrielian piece with independent continuo and opportunities for solo display punctuated by full choral phrases. A few suggestions for embellishment would be useful here; the solo phrases as written are dull and almost certainly not be be sung straight.

All in all, then, a valuable publication, reasonably priced for libraries at £10.50 for 196 pages of music, but out of the question for the ordinary performer. Perhaps some of the better pieces could be brought out as offprints?

ANTHONY F. CARVER

Opera omnia, i: The Lyons Lute-book (1553)

VALENTIN BAKFARK

Edited by István Homolya and Dániel Benkö

Editio Musica, Budapest, 1976, £9.25

In this collected edition of Bálint (or Valentine) Bakfark, the other two volumes will contain the *Cracow Lute Book* (1565) and the miscellaneous works from various collections. The edition gives the original tablature with transcriptions into staff notation. The biographical and bibliographical notes are in German, English and Hungarian, but the critical notes are in German only. Two of the vocal works intabulated for the lute by Bakfark are included as a supplement to this volume.

Bakfark was born in Kronstadt, Transylvania (now Brasov in Romania) in 1507, and, at an early age, entered the service of János Zápolya, *voivod* of Transylvania who, in 1526, became King of Hungary. He was taught the lute by an unknown player and later travelled in Italy in order to extend his musical education. Eventually he became the one really outstanding Hungarian musician of his time. In his second publication, the Cracow Lute Book, printed in 1565, he added Greff to his name. His brother, Mihály, married a woman from this family, and it is thought possible that his mother also bore this name.

He apparently remained in the service of János Zápolya until that monarch's death in 1540. Later he held appointments at the courts of the Polish King, Sigismund Augustus II, and the Emperor Maximilian II at Vienna.

During the years 1551 and 1552 he travelled extensively, possibly in search of a publisher for his first book. Whether or not this was the reason for his journey, he reached agreement with Jacques Moderne, and his *Intabulatura Valentini Transilvani Coronensis: liber primus* was printed in Lyons in 1553. His second book was printed at Cracow.

In 1568 he sent his family to Padua, possibly with the intention of eventually settling in Italy. He joined them in 1571, but died of plague in the epidemic of 1576.

Many years ago a Polish friend of mine gave me this translation of a verse by the poet Jan Kochanowski:

> If the lute could speak,
> It would thus say aloud:
> Bid all the others play the bagpipes
> And leave me Bakfark alone.

Although other famous lutenists of the time may not have wholeheartedly endorsed this opinion, there can be no doubt that Bakfark's compositions were widely known and greatly admired outside his own country, and his fame outlived him by many years. Works by him appear in collections by Drusina (1556), Le Roy and Ballard (1564), Phalèse (1568), Phalèse (1571), Phalèse (1574) and Besard (1603).

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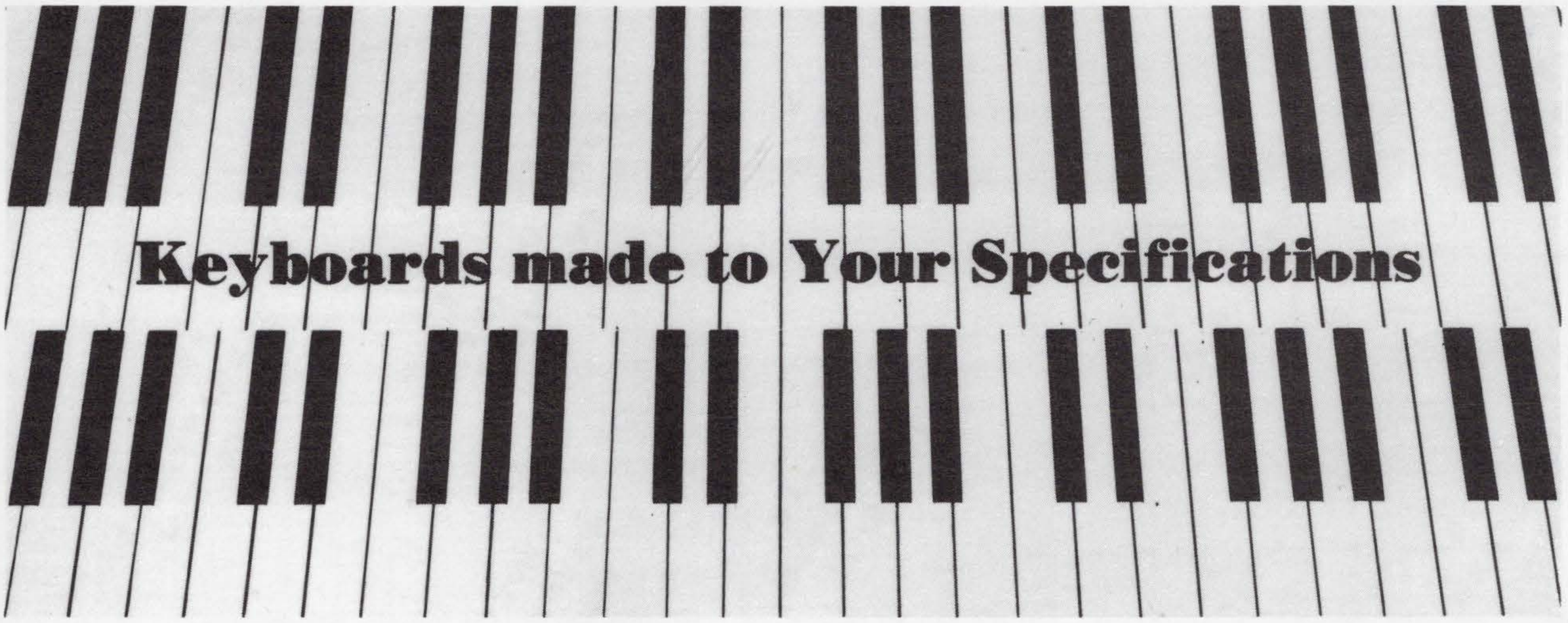

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The contents of the Lyons book are obviously influenced by the more serious collections of the Italian composers of the first half of the 16th century, the compositions being restricted to fantasias and intabulations of motets, chansons and madrigals. The composers of the original vocal scores are Nicolas Gombert, Jacquet de Mantua, Loyset Pieton, Richafort, Crequillon, Jannequin, Archadelt and Verdelot.

The four fantasies are all in four parts and are worked with considerable care, the canonic entry of each voice being strictly observed. Sometimes, however, the composer embellishes one voice, generally the first, with diminutions, while keeping the other voices to a plainer form. All are of a fairly sedate character and, except for written out turns, passages with note values of less than a quaver are absent. This is not to suggest, however, that these are easy works to play. Considerable technical skill is needed to sustain the voices in some of the intricate part writing. All four are fine examples of this type of composition.

The intabulations of the vocal scores, which range from four voices to six, are varied in treatment. Some passages are embellished with diminutions while others keep fairly closely to the unadorned original.

The book is beautifully produced and the editors and publisher are to be congratulated on the initiation of this important project. DIANA POULTON

While this review was in proof Robert Machold's article 'Valentin Greff-Bakfark: 20 Jahre junger als bisher angenommen?' appeared in Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter, *xxvl/2 (1977), 81-6, giving the strongest reasons for believing the composer to have been born in 1527.*

Music for the Lute: Original Tablature and Modern Notation for Keyboard

S. L. WEISS

Edited by R. Manabe

Tokyo: Zen-On Music Co. Ltd., 1976

Silvius Leopold Weiss (1686-1750), an almost exact contemporary of J. S. Bach, was said—by E. G. Baron and Johann Mattheson among others—to be the greatest lutenist of his time. And J. N. Forkel in 1782 compared his solo lute music—mostly suites of dances with some abstract movements (ouvertures, preludes and fantasies), collected in manuscript but never published—with the solo keyboard music of Bach. To consider Weiss the Bach of the lute, though, seems somewhat exaggerated if the samples of his music published so far are typical. The 28 suites and diverse separate movements edited by Ruggero Chiesa (2 vols, Milan: Edizioni Suvini Zerboni, 1968) after a manuscript in the British Library, and the six 'sonatas' and other pieces published after Dresden manuscripts in *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, vol. xii, make up the principal part of Weiss's music hitherto available in modern editions, and while his compositions appear to blend French and Italian elements in an agreeable manner—they offer attractively 'characteristic' melodies, a satisfyingly rich texture and delightful harmonic surprises—they can more fairly be characterized as excellent examples of the typically eclectic tastes of mid 18th-century Germans than as timeless creations of a musical genius. But on the other hand, we scarcely know this music in performance. Hearing more of it may well change our opinion of Weiss's stature, and so it can only be a good thing to have more of his music made available in an inexpensive edition (at least, I assume that R. Manabe's volume is inexpensive, though no price appears on the review copy).

Manabe transcribes a manuscript which, so far as I can tell, has been previously unknown to scholars, a 'Requeul [*sic*] de divers Pièces et Sonates Pour le Luth Composés par M. Weiss', now owned by the Central Museum of Musical Culture in Moscow. It contains 48 pieces for the instrument Robert Spencer has recently called (in *EM*, October 1976) the German Baroque lute, with 13 courses. They are mostly dance movements—polonaises, courantes, menuets, bourées and so on—with some preludes and some pieces identified only by a tempo marking (andantino, allegro, andante, and so on). Very happily, a facsimile of the complete manuscript in a separate booklet accompanies the transcriptions into staff notation.

Manabe makes available previously unpublished music—from a previously unknown manuscript in an inaccessible library—by a major composer, and these facts go a long way in making up for some of the obvious deficiencies of the volume. The transcriptions are not always accurate; many of the less agreeable harmonic surprises turn out on closer inspection to be caused by omitted or incorrect accidentals. Luckily, they can be checked against the facsimile, which I presume lutenists will do in any case since indications of fingering have also not been provided in the transcriptions. Manabe prints one piece twice (the prelude that appears on pp. 8 and 55) with some differences in the manner of transcription but without indicating he is aware that the pieces are identical. He does not mention the fact that some of these movements can also be found in other sources (for example, in the British Library manuscript transcribed by Chiesa, which offers better readings). And he fails to note that the Moscow manuscript clearly groups some of the pieces into suites, and the presence of other suites is to be inferred from the order of movements and keys. I could not read the introduction in Japanese, but the English translation should have been revised by someone with a better command of idiom, so that sentences like the following might have been avoided: 'It seems that there were some informal contests in which they [J. S. Bach and Weiss] competed with each other at improvising some given music. It is said that Bach wrote for the lute [*sic*]. If this possibility exists, that occasion must have been one of the trigger.'

HOWARD MAYER BROWN

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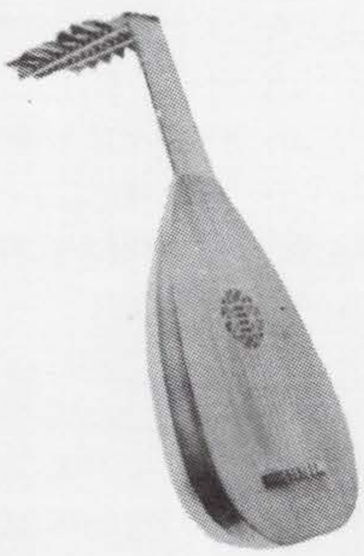

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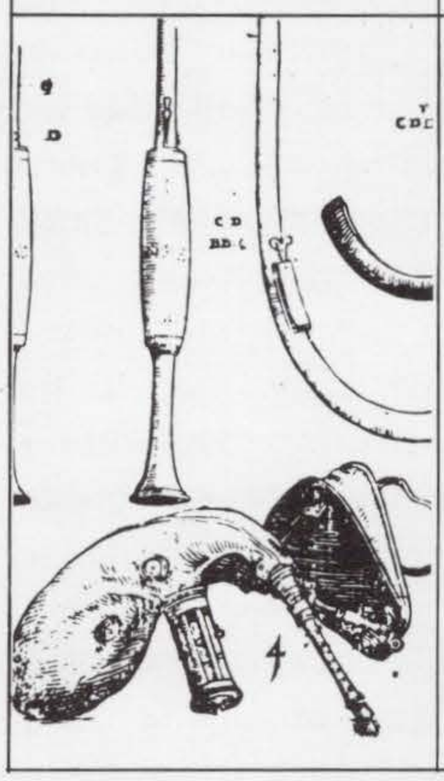

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Museo Bibliografico Musicale at Bologna, has scarcely been studied. Its author, who almost certainly lived at the end of the 16th century, is otherwise unknown. Imogene Horsley's brief description of the treatise in her article, 'The Solo Ricercar in Diminution Manuals: New Light on Early Wind and String Techniques', *Acta musicologica*, xxxiii (1961), pp. 29-39, is, so far as I know, the fullest treatment of the work to appear in print so far. Frans Brüggen's edition of two ricercate from *Il dolcimelo* should be welcomed, then, because it makes available music from a little known source that is directly concerned with instrumental technique in the Renaissance, and twice welcomed because it expands the small repertory of monophonic ricercari published in modern editions. Not many monophonic ricercari were in fact written down in the 16th century. Ganassi, Ortiz and Bassano printed some, and Thoinot Arbeau wrote about similar kinds of pieces in his *Orchésographie*. But the genre seems largely to have been improvised. Certainly Virgiliano's ricercate are so loosely constructed that it would not be difficult to learn to make up similar compositions extempore, and he may well have intended these pieces to serve as guides in teaching players to do just that, although he does not say so. Like most of the other surviving monophonic ricercari, Virgiliano's two compositions are largely devoted to taking a short, concise motif and repeating it at different pitches and in different rhythmic contexts ('across' or 'against the bar lines', as we would say), and then dropping the motif in favour of a new one. So they are good exercises not only for learning how to make up your own preludes (if that is, in fact, what they are) before playing some more 'formal' composition, but also for practising figuration patterns on many different pitches, patterns that are presumably useful to know, since they can be applied in embellishing late 16th-century music of other sorts. Practising Virgiliano's ricercate without slurs (as Brüggen rightly recommends) will also encourage properly relaxed double tonguing, of the kinds Ganassi recommends, and will send us all back to Ganassi's tables for fingering high notes, because Virgiliano regularly writes high E's, F's and G's, which do not sound easily on Renaissance recorders, or at least not on modern reproductions of 16th-century instruments. Brüggen quite sensibly transposes the ricercate down a tone (or rather up a seventh) so that the fingerings on a treble in F will be the same as on Virgiliano's soprano instrument in G. As a composer, Virgiliano can quite justly be forgotten, though it might well be instructive to hear one of these pieces in concert as an introduction to a performance of a late 16th-century chanson or madrigal, say, performed in a highly embellished version for recorder and lute. Regardless of their aesthetic value, however, these pieces bring us closer to understanding traditions of performance in the Renaissance, and for that reason they are well worth studying closely. The edition is exemplary—neat and clean, with useful suggestions for phrasing by the editor—save for the garbled English in the preface. But doubtless the Japanese version in parallel columns is perfectly idiomatic. HOWARD MAYER BROWN

Bach
Edited by Charles Rosen
Oxford University Press (Oxford Keyboard Classics), £2.90

Busoni-like, Charles Rosen bestrides the entire world of keyboard music from Bach to Boulez. Like the great Italian, he can boast of a stock of pieces which takes in all the major masterpieces and, curiously enough, a number of incongruously minor ones. Unlike other pianists of our time Rosen has not been deterred by the harpsichord revival from presenting his interpretations of the music of Bach on the modern piano. But like Busoni's, his repertoire eschews the music in suite and concerto forms, concentrating instead on the polyphonic works, including the *Art of Fugue*, and the *30 Variations*, usually but probably unjustifiedly coupled with the name Goldberg. A Princeton Ph.D. in French literature, Rosen is an accomplished writer, again rather like Busoni, although of an analytical rather than poetical type, and his books and articles have won him both critical praise and academic kudos.

Therefore it is not surprising to find that Rosen's commentary on Bach's fugal works—the anthology bears the sub-title *The Fugue*—is learned, urbane and tightly written. It is eminently worth the reading, especially by harpsichordists and organists who might mistakenly assume that any pianist, no matter how great, would have nothing to teach them in this domain. One is particularly grateful to the editor for pointing out once again that the *Art of Fugue* is primarily and essentially keyboard music. (Gustav Leonhardt's fascinating tract, *The Art of Fugue: Bach's Last Harpsichord Work*, Amsterdam, 1952, has never received the attention it deserves.) Only organists seem to have taken it into their repertoire and then usually in some 'arrangement', although none is actually needed. Even worse, the *Art of Fugue* is invariably presented in 'complete' performances which strike one rather as exercises in musical sado-masochism. Rosen quite properly selects four of the fugues, each of a different character, and one hopes that keyboard players will adopt the *Art of Fugue* to play in and from, but not to be engorged whole.

In addition, the anthology presents two preludes and fugues from the '48', the Fantasia and Fugue in A minor (BWV 904) and both the Ricercars à 3 and à 6 from the *Musical Offering*. All this is purest gold. The Fantasia and Fugue are a pair of beautifully matched pieces which incredibly have been almost totally neglected. They would make a welcome alternative to the less happy coupling of the sublime Chromatic Fantasy with its Fugue of decidedly lesser merit. While the Ricercar à 3 is occasionally played as a separate keyboard piece, or possibly as a pendant to the Fantasia in C minor (BWV 906), whose fugue has not survived in complete form, the one in six parts is virtually never heard apart from a 'complete'

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performance of the *Musical Offering* in one arrangement or other. (Webern's instrumentation of the six-part Ricercar, a masterpiece in its way, is *not* relevant here.) Rosen is quite right when he observes 'that the six-voice Ricercar is among the easiest of Bach's fugues to play, once learnt. Everything lies well for the hands to an extent that is rare in contrapuntal music for the keyboard . . .'. That ought to reassure those who have already mastered some Bach fugues and encourage them to attempt this unique example. One player *can* interpret this work and give more than 'a mere report on it', in spite of some assertions to the contrary.

Rosen's approach, for all its erudition combined with stylistic feeling, remains pianistic in a technical sense. Those who prefer to play their Bach on the instruments normally used in his time will find that the indicated fingerings are still of great interest—they are musical in essence and not mere facilitations—even though their hands and their keyboards may be quite differently proportioned from Mr Rosen's. The suggested realizations of ornaments are correct enough, by and large, and the editor has proposed some interesting rhythmic forms in his footnotes giving his suggested interpretations of the symbols. But, as every musician should know, expressive performance of embellishments rather defies precise notation. Just how much the suspended dissonance, for instance, is to be emphasized and dwelt upon in a cadential trill, can depend on many factors, such as tempo, instrument and hall resonance, notation, and the like. The musical text, except for the editor's fingerings, is quite pure and reflects his examination of the original sources. It is gratifyingly easy to read. The anthology can be heartily recommended. HOWARD SCHOTT

Twelve Keyboard Sonatas, Op. V and Op. XVII

J. C. BACH

Facsimile edition with introduction by Christopher Hogwood

Oxford University Press, 2 vols, £2.20 each

Six Fugues with Introductory Voluntaries

JAMES NARES

Facsimile edition with introduction by Robin Langley

Oxford University Press, £2.50

It is difficult to believe but this recent facsimile edition of J. C. Bach's two sets of sonatas for solo keyboard is the first complete modern pure text edition of these famous and most beautiful works. In spite of all the revival of interest in the early piano as well as the harpsichord, these central, crucial sonatas have up till now only been available in the incomplete version (lacking two of the sonatas) edited by Ludwig Landshoff half a century ago, decked out in the fashion of the time with 'fingerings, marks of expression and phrasing'. Let me hasten to add in Landshoff's defence that he had good reason to express the confident hope that some scholarly edition of the London Bach's music would also be forthcoming. This remained but a hope. As for the Nares pieces, the present facsimile is equally welcome as providing the first modern printing of his music in authentic form.

It must be confessed that we modern keyboard players are spoilt children indeed. We are so accustomed to present-day standardized music typography, with its restriction in keyboard scores to the familiar two clefs, its impeccable vertical alignment of notes and its utter uniformity of signs and symbols, that faced with anything technically less perfect we are easily inclined to throw up our hands in impotent despair. But that is really quite unnecessary in the case of the Bach and Nares facsimiles. Mr Bach's engravers avoided the C clef altogether while Mr Nares's used it only once for a total of two bars in the left-hand part. Thus, these facsimile editions are readable in a practical sense, quite unlike those of slightly earlier music, such as d'Anglebert's pieces (1689) or even François Couperin's (1713-30), which make constant use of the entire profusion of F, C and G clefs, including the baritone, contrabass, mezzo-soprano and French violin varieties. With the current high cost of engraving music, publishers must surely consider the possibility of a facsimile edition of works published from the middle of the 18th century, as an alternative to preparing brand-new plates.

To be sure, there are several misprints in the Bach sonatas, by no means all of which are noted in Mr Hogwood's preface. He gives general guidance on dealing with the unsystematic accidental practice of the time, especially as regards the sixth and seventh degrees of the scale in the minor mode, but I am not sure that all of his suggestions should necessarily be adopted automatically. Quite rightly, he expects players to use their intelligence so that they will carry over the correction of one passage to all analogous bars. Unfortunately, teaching experience suggests strongly that by no means all players trouble to read prefaces, and even if they have done so, to carry out the instructions contained in them. With a facsimile edition it is quite out of the question to correct errors *in situ*. One might number them and footnote the corrections on the page. but aesthetically this is scarcely desirable. The editor of the Bach sonatas wisely identifies the errors by page, system, bar, hand and note; in the Nares pieces, less wisely, the bars are referred to by number, but they are not enumerated in the music itself. Fortunately the quantity of errors is small and the inconvenience correspondingly slight.

The Bach sonatas, while relatively familiar, deserve to be far better known. The association of the composer's name and, indeed, his distinction as a pioneer, in connection with the early piano as a concert instrument have perhaps affrighted harpsichordists. The dynamic indications in the original text, as contrasted with Landshoff's edited version, are remarkably sparse. They rarely exclude performance on a two-manual harpsichord or even a single one equipped with devices corresponding to the 18th-century machine stop or swell pedal. But there are notable exceptions, such as the first movement of the sonata in G major, Op. V, No. 3, where the phrases regu-

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larly begin *forte* and then diminish to *piano* within the space of half a bar. This kind of subtle dynamic gradation cannot be made effective on the harpsichord, no matter how elaborate stop-changing mechanisms are fitted, regardless how virtuosic the footwork of the player. No doubt in the transitional period in which these sonatas appeared—the Op. V set *c* 1768, the Op. XVII pieces in 1779—one accepted or, at least, overlooked certain deviations from the strict letter of the text perhaps a bit more charitably, more readily than we would today.

In any event, harpsichordists need not be deterred by the alternative instruments—Piano Forte in the case of Bach, Organ in the Nares volume—in either case. The Nares introductory Voluntaries for three of his fugues suit the harpsichord amazingly well. Those fortunate enough to have access to an English chamber organ of the period will no doubt prefer it as the medium of performance.

Both facsimile editions are prefaced by introductions which give some supplemental information on how to perform the music. The emphasis is different in each. Mr Hogwood discourses more fully on the instruments of the period and its inconsistent notation, while Mr Langley attempts more specific guidance on the execution of individual pieces in the collection, suggesting mood, articulation, tempo and free ornamentation, but omitting one essential point, the date 1772 when the Nares pieces were first published. While the reader is cautioned in the Bach preface to be very sparing indeed with additional embellishments except at fermatas, with no examples offered, the Nares introduction does present sample solutions to the decoration of final cadences. Anyone who wishes for comparable help in the case of the Bach sonatas would be well-advised to look at Landshoff's edition for that scholar's wide experience in Italian vocal music of the period led him to adopt almost operatic *bel canto* cadenzas which are very convincing in the context. One might quibble over a few details in the prefatory material, including minor inaccuracies, but the important point is that three volumes of fine late 18th-century keyboard music have become widely available again in authentic form.

HOWARD SCHOTT

Vier Motetten zu 5 Stimmen
THOMAS CREQUILLON and others
Edited by Bernhard Meier
Möseler Verlag, Wolfenbüttel (Das Chorwerk, 121), £3.45

Requiem zu 6 Stimmen
JEAN RICHAFORT
Edited by Albert Seay
Möseler Verlag, Wolfenbüttel (*Das Chorwerk,* 124), £3.17

The symbolic use of other composers' material is an important aspect of Richafort's style. The superius of his motet *Sufficiebat*, which treats the incident of Tobias leaving his weeping mother to set out with the angel, is clearly related to the tenor of Hayne's chanson *Mon souvenir*. Similarly, the motet *Misereatur mei*, which is textually quite close to Josquin's *Miserere mei*, employs the same cantus firmus as Josquin's piece. In both cases, there is a sense that these borrowings and adaptions might have been prompted by some particular event, though nothing definite can be proved in either case. With the Requiem, which uses the most complex system of musical cross-references of any of Richafort's works, the motivation seems more explicit.

Throughout most of the mass, two tenors sing Josquin's canon *Circumdederunt me* in the manner of a cantus firmus while the remaining voices (SATB) have free polyphony. This is true of the Introit and Kyrie. Then unexpectedly, in the middle of the Gradual, the two cantus firmus voices change from singing the canon to singing a phrase taken from Josquin's *Faulte d'argent*, a phrase, moreover, which sets the text 'c'est douleur non pareille'. Thereafter both borrowed melodies are called upon, though never in conjunction. The symbolic significance of these two references, reinforcing (as they do) each other is quite clear. The *Circumdederunt me* canon itself, derived from a plainsong not of Roman use but from the Sarum rite, seems to have been one of Josquin's favourite devices. It is used in his six-voice motet-chanson *Nimphes, nappés* and again in the six-voice motets *Sic Deus dilexit* and *Christus mortuus*. It is, then, not only a musical identification of Josquin himself, but also carries associations of death which stem from Josquin's own canonic adaption of the plainsong and are strengthened by Gombert's use of the melody (though not in canon) in his lament upon the master's death, *Musae Jovis*. Seen in the tradition of such elegies, of which Josquin's on the death of Ockeghem is the most well-known, it seems very likely that Richafort's mass is *in memoriam* his spiritual mentor.

The other new Chorwerk volume presents motets by Crequillon, Perissone Cambio, Zarlino and Domenico Maria Ferrabosco, an oddly-assorted group drawn together by generation. The Crequillon *Dirige gressus meos* is noticeably more dependent upon imitative techniques, the Ferrabosco often quite surprising in its use of bright harmonic effects, the Zarlino *Adiuro vos* sometimes consciously academic as at the point where with the sudden quotation of a plainsong incipit at the text 'quae est ista'.

Both these new volumes are carefully edited and well produced in the usual Chorwerk manner. Those intending to sing through the motet volume should note that the quintus is not in the same vocal range throughout and six voices are needed (SAATB). Meier is perhaps a little over-cautious in his application of suggested musica ficta and performers should experiment with other alternatives, but in general his text is a good one and the quite lengthy introduction admirable. Despite the complex construction of the Richafort, the notes are easy to sing, though problems may arise from the low tessitura of some of the voice parts (particularly altus and bassus). Even though the note values of the original have been halved here, as they have also in the motets, the

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appearance of most pages is still rather 'white' and there is consequently a temptation to set too slow a tempo.

IAIN FENLON

Anthology of Music no. 32: the Cantata
RICHARD JAKOBY
English translation by Robert Kolben
Arno Volk Verlag, Cologne, 1968; DM35, £8.50

Anthologies can be useful things for the student of music history, as the continued popularity of Schering's *Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen* (GMB) and Davison and Apel's *Historical Anthology of Music* (HAM) attests. There must be few performers of early music who did not begin their careers by ransacking one or the other for repertory, and my own interest was initially sparked by both. The Arno Volk series under the general editorship of K. G. Fellerer has the advantages of greater bulk, each volume being devoted to a particular genre, and of an authoritative essay on that genre by a specialist scholar. The music engraving is also large and clear and items are luxuriously presented in open score, so no magnifying glasses or tedious recopying as so often necessary with GMB or HAM are required.

The first problem that the editor of a series subdivided by genre must solve is what the actual genres and their limits are. Only then can any criteria for selection be drawn up. Clearly the selection within those limits must be as representative as practicable and should try to include only worthwhile music, especially when the format of the series suggests practical use and the stated policy is to make 'a collection of complete musical examples illustrating the history of music' (not all the examples in the present volume are in fact complete). Finally, one would hope, as with all new anthologies, that the editor would cast his net wide and present us not with examples familiar enough from previous standard anthologies, but with material that is fresh, yet still representative. Such a wish is perhaps reasonable in view of the daunting amount of material to choose from in the field of the cantata. After all, a composer like Alessandro Scarlatti could produce over 500

Jakoby's essay is fine and comprehensive—too comprehensive perhaps, since it is in this that his actual anthology fails. He attempts to include everything from solo madrigals by Caccini (the dreaded *Amarilli* rears her lovely head once again) to German church cantatas (which are really sacred concertos). It would have been far better to have divided the categories more rationally and to have devoted a single volume to the secular chamber cantata, which was arguably the most popular single form of the 17th century and indeed still alive and kicking in the hands of the Viennese classicists. A separate volume could then have been allotted to the sacred cantata, which is a quite different, and much vaguer, category than the secular cantata.

So Jakoby is impossibly handicapped before he even begins his selection. Worse is to come, however, since no fewer than nine of the 17 pieces are drawn directly from GMB and HAM. Two more come from standard *Denkmäler* editions. Of the six remaining, one is a well-known Handel duet (not a cantata), *Conservate, raddoppiate*, and another a Buxtehude sacred concerto drawn from the Collected Edition. This leaves only four pieces that are not in other modern editions. Two of these are transcribed from sources in the editor's home town of Hanover; he shyly admits that they are not worth performing. I think that the same could be said for the pieces by Albert, Krieger and Hammerschmidt, but we must allow that the series is primarily designed for German consumption.

Since so much valuable space is wasted on peripheral material, the omission of any music by many composers whose work was central to the development of the cantata is all the more regrettable. There is nothing of Monteverdi, Carissimi or Stradella, let alone Rovetta, Schütz, Sances, Purcell, Vivaldi, Marcello. No Haydn, Mozart or Schubert either, although there is a truly awful work by F. H. Himmel with proliferating 7th chords and illiterate consecutive 5ths. J. S. Bach has to be excluded for reasons of space, though Jakoby rather pointlessly lists the movements and scoring of seven 'representative' cantatas in an appendix. One or two important composers included fare curiously. Few modern basses will dare to tackle the grotesque virtuosity of Caldara's *Titano all'inferno* (taken from the Austrian *Denkmäler* edition with no acknowledgement of the editor's name). What a missed opportunity when there are dozens of unpublished Caldara cantatas, some of great beauty, to choose from! But Jakoby appears to have been reluctant to transcribe and edit more than a fraction of the music in his anthology. I can see no justification for including a Viadana *concerto ecclesiastico*, and again the Steffani chamber duet, *Occhi, perchè piangete* is no more a cantata than is the Handel duet. The inclusion, however, of Pergolesi's splendid cantata *Orfeo* for soprano and strings (perhaps the only worthwhile piece printed here for the first time in a modern edition) makes one regret the rest of the anthology all the more. It is well edited by Hugo Ruf, though some indication should have been given of *recitativo secco* conventions.

Robert Kolben has done the English translations of the text and some singing translations for the music admirably. Such expertise is still uncommon in Continental editions and is to be welcomed. Too often we are still faced with the sort of thing that I found in a recent Italian edition: 'Important: These pieces revised by [X] must bear also his name in the programmes of public executions.'

JOHN STEELE

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Moeck; available through Kalmus
These volumes mark the beginning of a new series of consort music for strings from 1550 to 1750. Planned as a parallel series to the same publisher's *Der Bläserchor*, with the same editor, it promises well from the point of view of interesting and at present fairly inaccessible music. So far all the music belongs to the 17th century, offering more than a glimpse of a number of English, Italian and German styles of the time, which saw the gradual eclipse of the viols and the takeover of the violin family.

From the fine pair of Ferrabosco fantasies and the lighter Jenkins set, 17th-century English consort music is seen at its best. The first of the Ferrabosco fantasies stands very much on a par with the recently published Jenkins set à 6. It is a masterly piece of construction, using what is in fact one theme in several subtle guises, and it reaffirms the second Ferrabosco's high reputation as a contrapuntist. The second fantasy, altogether simpler and much the most straightforward of his six-part works, might well have been written for two novice bass players' first experience in six-part consort. The opening is based, consciously I would have thought rather than unconsciously, on Wert's well-known madrigal *Chi salirà per me*, 'Englished' in *Musica Transalpina* as *Who Will Ascend*. No source is given for either of these fantasies. Presumably the editor has used the scorebook Oxford Christ Church MS 2 with its associated part books MSS 403-8 and organ book MS 436, though for some reason the organ parts have been witheld and not even mentioned. The string parts are accurate as to notes, but players should be warned that the positioning of accidentals is haphazard, those appearing in the source frequently being confused with editorial suggestions and vice versa. The numerous warning accidentals are an encumbrance. However, if all the recommendations are followed the result seems acceptable.

Jenkins, at no disadvantage in this selection of compact dance forms, displays many of the fine qualities associated with his fantasies. In *An Ayre* (I), for instance, there are the familiar fragmented arpeggio figures (in D major), followed by a typical sudden change of mood and key (B flat major), closing 'tenderly' as Mace might have said. Indeed, in the absence of any advice or information about performance, players would do well to read Mace's *Musick's Monument* (1676) on the subject of 'humouring' music such as this. Performers would also have benefited by being told that it was customary to have a keyboard continuo, that violins would be preferable to viols for many of the treble parts, and that the character of the triple-time strains which sometimes occur at the end of Ayres and Almains would most likely be that of a saraband (the quickest of the triple-time dances of the day). In using two sources for several of the pieces, the editor has used variants from one or the other, without listing them, and made some silent corrections of a minor character. As with the Ferrabosco fantasies the placing of accidental signs is inconsistent and confusing, but as before the composite reading is satisfactory, noting one important omission: *An Ayre* (I), bar 2, the bass should read E natural.

The rarely heard composer George Jeffreys, organist to Charles I at Oxford during the Civil War, though in no way an experimentalist and sometimes a pale reflection of Jenkins, has some interesting idiosyncracies of style, and in particular a liking for the augmented triad, prepared or unprepared. The two Oxford sources for these fantasies (Oxford Christ Church MS 417-18, 1080 and MS 468-72) show more dissonances of this kind than the editor has given us here, but unfortunately it is not possible to check if they have been ironed out or were absent in the composer's autograph (British Library Add. 10338) which is currently inaccessible and is presumably the source used (though again no source is given). Also omitted is the information from the autograph that these fantasies are intended for '3 parts for the violls and the virginall', and again the editor has neither recommended a continuo part nor supplied one. Two notes in small type in the score, marked 'organ', are the only hint that is given (these were apparently so labelled in the source, and may have been recommendations should this instrument have been used). Whereas these pieces are possible without the keyboard, its omission leaves weak places, both in harmony and texture.

The decision to include the Gabrieli canzona à 7 is a welcome one. Leaving aside the splendour of the large scale antiphonal pieces, this canzona must rate as one of the finest in the 1615 collection (known to some in Sanvoisin's edition), exploiting to the full the sonorities of the seven parts. It adapts well to domestic performance on viols.

In an altogether different style the three pavans by Carlo Farina, published in Dresden in 1627, catered for the Germans' taste for *lustige Pavanen*. Farina, an Italian violin virtuoso, who started his career in Mantua in Monteverdi's orchestra, is seen best here in the third pavan where the first violin is permitted a brilliant part more in keeping with the solo sonata of the day. The presence of figures under the bass indicates the need for a continuo part, which once more has not been supplied.

Lastly, players of the violin family will enjoy the freshness and vigour of the sonata by Johann Pezel, the violinist and clarino player from Leipzig, in the style associated with Schmelzer.

This is a worthwhile series to collect, though expensive, and is commendable for its choice of music and for clearly laid out parts, including alternative clefs for inner parts. Its deficiencies as a performing series are two-fold; first, in the absence of introductory notes giving information about sources, composers, instrumentation, and other performance recommendations, and second (relating to the above) in choosing to overlook, except in the Pezel sonata, the whole important matter of continuo.

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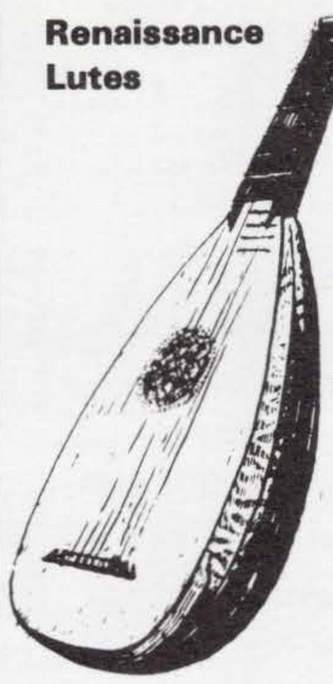

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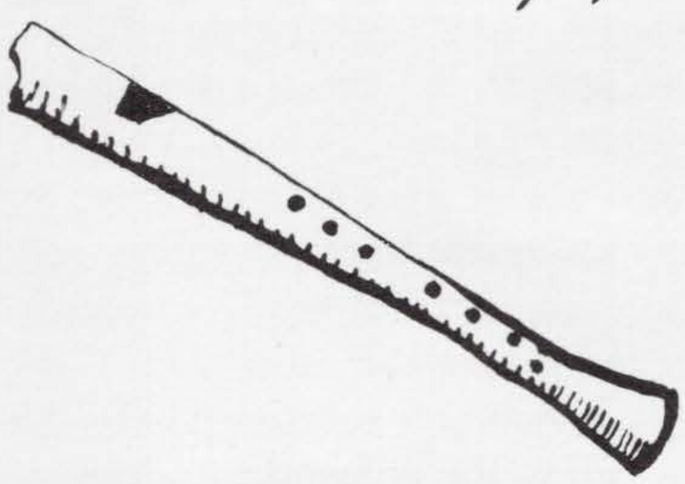

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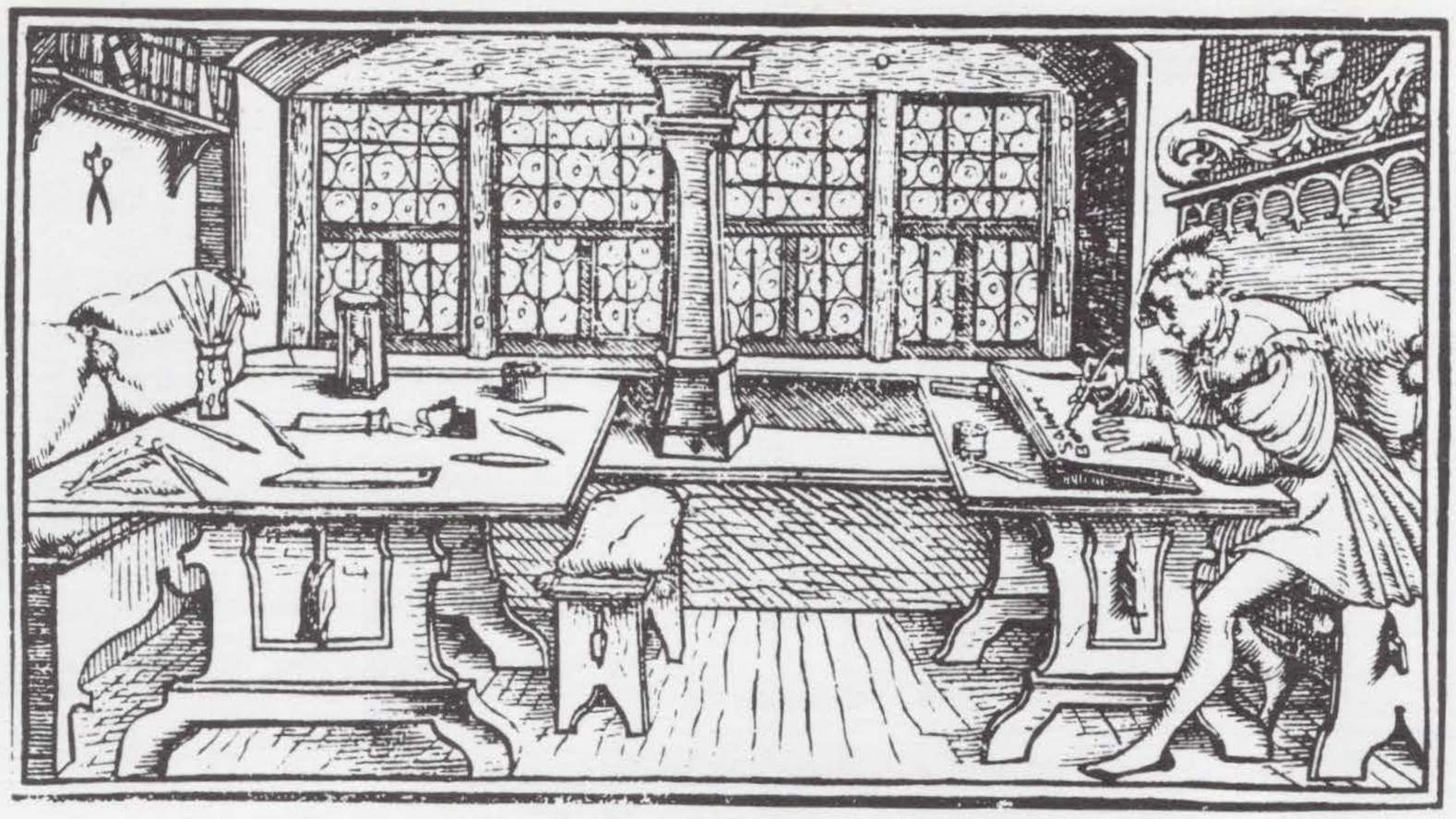

Correspondence

Medieval fiddles

In my letter of the April 1977 issue (page 255), I inadvertently left incomplete the quotation from a marginal annotation to Jerome of Moravia's *Tractatus de Musica*, showing that the bow as well as the thumb could play on the lateral drone string of a fiddle ('viella'). The relevant passage should read:

> quod bordunus non debet tangi pollice vel arcu, nisi cum cetere corde arcu tactu faciunt sonos cum quibus bordunus facit aliquam predictarum consonantiarum scilicet diapente, diapason, diatessaron, etc; . . .*

(Anna Puccianti: 'La Descrizione della *Viella* e della *Rubeba* in Girolamo di Moravia', *Collectanea Historicae Musicae* iv (1966), 233.) I am sorry for any confusion that this omission may have caused.

Perhaps I should take this opportunity to comment on Joscelyn Godwin's article, 'Mains divers acors: Some instrument collections of the Ars Nova period', on pages 148-159 of the same issue.

First of all, the details from the Schwerin brass are most welcome, as this source is rarely seen in print. For those people who would like to see all its instruments, a complete rubbing of the brass can be found in the British Library under the shelfmark *Add. 35136, vii.*

The carvings in Beverley Minster are certainly a most important source, but it must be emphasized that many of those in the north aisle have been 'restored', some to the extent of being replaced by completely new sculpture. Careful scrutiny of the carvings will show that in 1895 Mr J. Baker signed his name and initials on the back or underneath of several items, including one of the portative organs, the instrument sometimes described as a 'citole', and the symphony. This last seems to have been based on the nave carving shown at the bottom left corner of page 152 in Prof. Godwin's article, where it is described as 'organistrum'. The gittern shown at the bottom of page 151 has been given a new pegbox, being joined to the original carving just to the right of the player's left hand. I personally would dispute the assertion that the 'guitar' on this page is played by the fingers, not only because this was not the normal practice in 14th-century England, but also because it seems that a plectrum is actually visible in the picture.

Finally, it should be mentioned that there is a slightly earlier 'angel choir' of musicians than that of Lincoln. This is almost hidden in the arcading above the north door of Westminster Abbey, and has therefore escaped much notice. It dates from *c* 1250-60, and was described by C. J. P. Cave and L. E. Tanner in 'The Thirteenth-Century Choir of Angels in the North Transept of Westminster Abbey, and the Adjacent Figures of Two Kings', *Archaeologia* LXXXIV (1935). 63-7.

MARY REMNANT, *15 Fernshaw Road, Chelsea, London SW10.*

Trees of Jesse

Whilst reading Joscelyn Godwin's interesting article (*Early Music*, v (1977), 148) about the von Bulow brass something he mentioned about Trees of Jesse rang a distant bell and I remembered, rather dimly, a book about medieval miniatures[1] in which there was a Jesse tree with a band of musician-kings.

The exquisitely illuminated miniature comes from the Breviary of Philip the Good,[2] who was of course one of the greatest musical patrons of his age. The twelve kings, from whom are descended the twelve tribes of Judah, are all playing instruments except one. The instruments are: triangle, shawm, bagpipe, S-shaped trumpet, portative organ, harp, lute, cornet, pipe and tabor, psaltery and a cylindrical hurdy-gurdy. And the twelfth King? He is sitting with his back to us facing the other musicians with his hands in the attitude of one who is conducting.

CLIFFORD ARMSTRONG, *5 Oakhill Road, Surbiton, Surrey.*

Hand-stopping technique on the horn

Further to my review of Anthony Baines's excellent book on brass instruments in your last issue, there was one

* An approximate translation is as follows: 'because the drone string should not be touched by the thumb or the bow, except when the other strings, played with the bow, produce notes with which it can make one of the previously mentioned consonances, namely the fifth, octave, fourth, etc; . . .'

[1] Medieval Miniatures—Thames and Hudson.

[2] Brussels—Royal Library of Belgium—MS 9511f15.

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point in that book on which I disagreed with the author, a description of hand-stopping technique, *Early Music*, v (1977), 221. Since writing the review, I have been in correspondence with Mr Baines on this subject, and I have done some further experimenting on valve horns and hand horns, with results that may be of interest to your readers, someone of whom, I hope may be able to explain them, for I cannot; in fact, the results have merely deepened the confusion that already exists on this subject. Briefly, Mr Baines was wrong in what he said in his book; I was wrong in what I said in my review; I now have no idea at all how or why we get the effects that we do.

When one is playing the horn of any period, there is a definite feeling, which I can only describe as a 'click' on the lip, when one slurs smoothly from one harmonic to the next above or below (i.e. from one open note to another or from one note to another using the same valve combination). Bearing this in mind, and gradually closing the bell with the hand, the pitch is progressively lowered. If one blows in the way customary for *sons bouchés* (hand-muting on the valve horn), so that the pitch goes up a semi-tone, there is *always* that tell-tale click on the lip that indicates that one has gone up a harmonic. Thus I was wrong when I said that when one hand-stops and blows hard, the pitch jumps up—it doesn't unless one makes it do so. When one hand-stops, in whatever manner one does so, one is always getting a pitch below the harmonic that one started with. A practical realization of the fact that one is lowering the pitch and not raising it when playing muted notes on the valve horn can be found in Benjamin Britten's Serenade for Tenor, Horn and Strings, Op. 31, at the end of the setting of the Blake Elegy; were this not the way in which it works, it would not be possible to glide smoothly up to the last note, an open D sharp (10th harmonic of the E horn) from the stopped D natural, which is taken on the same fingering. On previously accepted theory one would be working from the 9th harmonic of the F horn, stopped upwards and valved down again to produce the right pitch, going to the open 10th harmonic of the E horn. This could be slurred, of course, but it could not be played glissando, as it always is. In fact, both the notes are 10th harmonics, stopped and open and only the hand moves, opening the bell so that the pitch rises without any click on the lip.

What I find incomprehensible is that when one starts with the hand in the normal modern valve horn position, the change to full-stopping combined with a push from the diaphragm (the normal orchestral *sons bouchés, gestöpft* or *chiuso*, indicated by those words in the part or by + over the note) but avoiding the click on the lip, produces a pitch a semi-tone above the next lower harmonic, at least down to the 4th harmonic (middle C written; as I said in my review, this only applies to the F horn—hand-stopping on the B flat side produces different pitches); the 3rd harmonic is more difficult and needs to be lipped down to obtain the bottom C sharp. If one allows the click on the lip to happen, as of course one does in practice because this is how we are taught to do it, the pitch goes up a semi-tone, and the click on the lip is clear evidence that one has gone up a harmonic. I do not understand how this can be so, because, whichever way one does it, the pitch produced is not affected by the varying distances between the harmonics. The 4th harmonic is lowered by a major third, the 5th harmonic by a minor third, the 6th by a whole-tone, and so on.

What makes the issue even more complicated is that with the hand initially in the hand horn position (see note 11 of my reply to Dr Fitzpatrick in *Early Music*, iv (1976), 359), when one closes the bell fully and blows hard, the *sons bouchés* notes are a *whole tone* and not a semitone above the next lower harmonic; i.e. the stopped note is in the same position relative to the pitch produced with the bell completely open (hand right out) as it is on the valve horn, but the hand in the normal playing position has lowered the open note by a semitone due to the more closed position appropriate to the hand horn. Thus, it is clear that no hand horn tutor would expect this *sons bouchés* technique to be used, since it would not produce the pitches which are needed, and the expression 'fully close the bell', whether accompanied by a + over the note or not, in hand horn tutors cannot mean playing with that extra push from the diaphragm and cannot mean that the pitch is expected to rise.

If any reader can explain how *sons bouchés* hand-stopping on the valve horn can produce a pitch a semitone above the next harmonic below, irrespective of the distance between the two harmonics concerned, I shall be both grateful and relieved. There is no problem about how or why the pitch is lowered; the problem is solely that of the same effect over varying distance. I would add that no book on horn technique, nor any on acoustics, has succeeded so far.

JEREMY MONTAGU, *7 Pickwick Road, Dulwich Village, London SE21 7JN.*

The Neapolitan mandoline

The main complaint put forward by Mr Tyler (*EM*, April), was that, writing from 'personal preference', I lay too great a stress upon the Neapolitan mandoline, and paid insufficient attention to the Milanese instrument, both in its older mandore form, and in its later, wide-bodied, single-strung state. Mr Tyler seems to have fundamentally misunderstood the aims and scope of my article (*EM*, January), which, for reasons of space and clarity (an apparent misjudgement), and indeed 'personal preference', concentrated on the emergence, career, and fate of the Neapolitan instrument, the mandoline we know today—intentions which I had thought were made sufficiently clear by the general form and direction of the piece. His letter reaffirms my view that an instrument spanning so great a period of musical history as the mandore (whose importance as a root of the mandoline family I feel, however, I quite adequately stressed) deserves in itself a fuller historical account than could be incorporated,

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SR	serpent
V	baroque violin
VG	viol, viol da gamba
Z	cornett (zink)

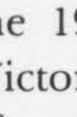
From 'An Introduction to renaissance viols' by Ian Harwood.

From 'Vivaldi's church music: an introduction' by Denis Arnold.

with balance, within an article primarily concerned with the development of the 18th-century Neapolitan mandoline. I am sure that James Tyler could well supply such an account.

Rightfully stressing the importance of the older Milanese instrument, Mr Tyler then questions my statement that 'the only lute-backed instrument to survive to the present day in fairly constant, though varied use, was, and is the Neapolitan mandoline' which he feels 'quite simply does not fit the facts'. In writing this I had in mind the considerable resurgence of amateur and professional interest, both in Europe and in America, which was shown in the Neapolitan instrument from the last quarter of the 19th century onwards. The great Victorian and Edwardian enthusiasm for the instrument as a parlour violin-substitute, together with the later craze for mandoline-orchestras, has littered our junk-shops and antique markets with mass-produced Neapolitan mandolines. More particularly, composers such as Verdi, Mahler, Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Gal, Königer, Gianneo, Schoenberg, Webern, Henze, etc, once again turned to the Neapolitan mandoline as a serious orchestral instrument. No like claim of 'constant varied use' to the present day could honestly be made for the late Milanese instrument, which did not survive the turn of the century's eclectic taste for unusual musical instruments.

My suggestion that the violinistic thinking of many 18th-century composers and musicians led to the introduction, and subsequent popularity, of the fifths-tuned mandoline, also seems to have inflamed Mr Tyler, but if not for the albeit rather prosaic reason of convenience of playing, *why* should an alternative to the older, previously standard, tuning in fourths have been introduced and accepted so readily? Indeed this sudden appearance, mid-century, in so fully developed a form, of the Neapolitan instrument has always seemed to me, at least, a rather extraordinary and unresolved question, which is what led me to surmise whether or not some precursory form or tuning may have existed. This was not 'invention' but honest hypothesis.

But I really must disagree with Mr Tyler's final contention that the mandoline music of the 'Viennese School' was exclusively written for the single-strung, fourths-tuned, Milanese instrument. I clearly stated in my article (not merely 'implied') that *both* main types of mandoline were used for this music. Firstly, this is clearly indicated by the surviving instruments—Milanese and Neapolitan mandolines were made concurrently, and supplied to this market by the northern centres such as Prague and Dresden. Secondly, not *all* the pieces, as Mr Tyler implies, have five- and six-note chords; where they do (and where these are not preceded by a bracket thus  , denoting that they be played arpeggiando) then of course the six-stringed instrument must be used. Other pieces, however, contain two-, three- and four-note chords which, by construction and context, can only have been intended for a violin-tuned instrument—such instances occur frequently, for example, in the Serenata for mandoline and viola, and Concerto for mandoline, of Giovanni Hoffman (both in D), the anonymous *Classical Concerto in G* (1708P Hladky), the *Grande Sonata per il Clavicembalo O Piano Forte, con accompagnamente di Mandolino O Violino obligato* of Hummel, and of course, the Concerto in G by the same composer—an important mandoline work whose manuscript is readily available at the British Museum (Add 32216). Here, from the few chords on the first page alone, it is clear that it was for a fifths-tuned mandoline that this work was intended: either the Neapolitan or the rarer, single-strung, variant, the Brescian or Cremonese mandoline, and in this case certainly *not* the six-course Milanese instrument.

Perhaps these observations may cause James Tyler to modify his view as to the instrumentation of these later pieces, for I was considerably heartened to note that he now appears at least to have altered his opinion as to their musical value.

KEVIN COATES, *Garden Flat, 56 Albert Street, London NW1.*

Identification of old pictures

My husband and I would like to comment on the identification of some pictures recently reproduced in *Early Music*.

In *Early Music*, iv (1976) 481, there is a picture of three men with bowed instruments—a small instrument with three strings (rebec?) and two violone-size instruments, yet differing in shape from a violone and with fewer strings. The caption is: 'Anonymous engraving, V & A Museum, London'. This is in fact an engraving after a woodcut entitled 'Drey Geyger' by Jost Ammann which was printed in Frankfurt in 1568 as plate 107 of the *Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände* of Hans Sachs. The engraving after the woodcut as you reproduce it is not listed by Bartsch or Hollstein. Probably it was made at the end of the 15th century and most likely in Germany. Is it really anonymous? At the bottom left-hand corner there is a small plate which probably bears initials of the artist/engraver.

In *Early Music*, v (1977), 95 and 97, there are reproductions of two engravings not illustrating any article. The captions are merely 'Anonymous print, V & A, London'. Both depict the Dance of Death, the figure of Death playing a musical instrument. Both pictures are so interesting that it would be a pity to let them go without comment. We therefore put forward a few ideas:

(1) The pictures should more accurately be described as engravings. Also they are not strictly anonymous, but by a German artist generally known as 'monogramist A.C.'. Both the monogram and the year 1562 can clearly be seen in the reproductions. (Lit.: Bartsch, *Pientre-graveur*, vol. 9, 1808, p. 483 f. Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, vol. 1. 1858, no. 260. Thieme/Becker, *Allegméines Lexikon*, vol. 37, 1950, p. 372.)

(2) The two pictures belong to a series of seven illustrations by A.C. of the Dance of Death, but these two are the only ones with instruments. In one, there is a dancing couple with Death playing a xylophone (not a dulcimer, as Bartsch and Nagler state). The instrument is tied round his neck with a

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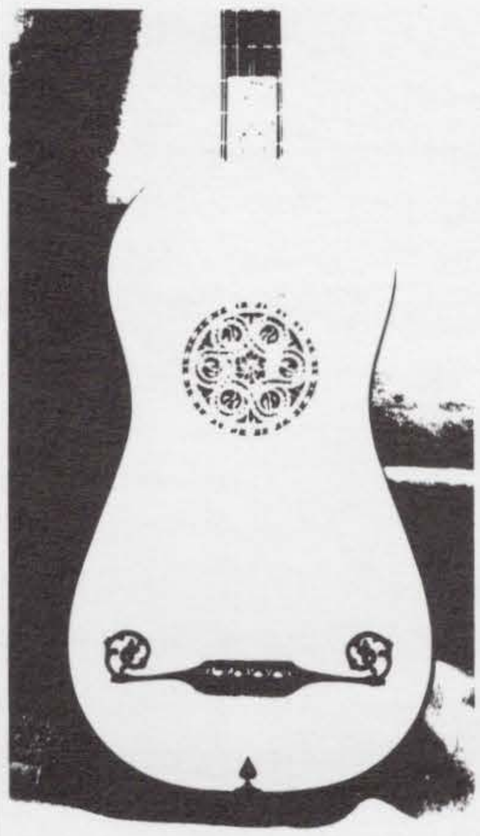

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ribbon—exactly the same playing position as, for example, 'The Old Woman' in Hans Holbein's *Dance of Death*. The second engraving is of the utmost interest (the lovers with Death playing a drum). Death does not carry the instrument tied round his neck but hanging from his forearm, in a fashion that allows him to beat with two drumsticks. So far we have encountered only one more illustration of a large drum carried in this way (i.e. 'The drummer' by Gillis Congnet, dated 1581, in the museum at Antwerp), but we suppose there are more illustrations extant.

(3) Musical instruments play a vital part in Dance of Death illustrations. In most cases either they are instruments without special meaning, so that they might be replaced by others, or Death is playing an instrument that has somehow to do with the status of the one who is just being called: the trumpet with the emperor, the lute with the lover, etc. However, there are some instruments which are particularly related to death, including the two depicted in the engravings. These are instruments that 'can be made of the deceased' like the drumhead. Even in a song written in the 20th century (albeit based on an older song) we hear about Death 'drumming on a dead man's skin'. Time and time again Death is shown as using bones as drumsticks, e.g. in picture two of the famous *Dance of Death* by Heinrich Knoblochtzer (*c* 1488). The xylophone is not much different, except that we have not yet encountered an illustration of the Dance of Death in which the wooden bars have been replaced by bones—but this would be only logical, the clattering sound recalling clattering bones. A similar instrument would be the bone pipe.

Such ideas may seem macabre, but they are necessary, if only for realizing the music in a stage performance of *Everyman*.

UTA and RUDOLF HENNING, *714 Ludwigsburg, Bismarckstr 32, Germany BDR.*

In an ideal world Uta and Rudolf Henning would be right: 'anonymous' as a caption to a drawing or an engraving would rarely be used. When we use such a caption this means that the illustration has come from the 'anonymous' folder of the particular museum and this is the only information we have. It is somewhat impracticable in the rush of quarterly journal production to ask the museum to spend one or two days searching for fuller details. The solution is to print as 'anonymous' and hope a reader will supply details, as happened here. I am sure the museum concerned will be grateful for Uta and Rudolf Henning's invaluable and specialized information. ED

Drum rhythms for dances

There is a dire need for a short, very basic article—perhaps only a page consisting of an introduction and a table—setting out the drum rhythms for dances. Only the *basic* rhythm is needed with perhaps, in brackets after it, a few suggested variants or fill-ins.

When playing for dancers we have some awful problems deciding how to drum a Ronde, Almaine, Saltarello, and so on—someone ought to research every dance title in Susato, Praetorius, Phalese, Attaignant, Gervaise, Bendusi, etc., etc., and set these beats out. The Pavanne (𝅗𝅥 ♩ ♩) and the Galliard (♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩) we all know—but what about the rest? Have you any comprehensive table in view?

What you need, I suppose, is for a couple like Anthony Rooley and Madeleine Inglehearne to put their heads together. Perhaps dancers would complain less about their musicians (not that Madeleine has ever complained about us—but I gather she has had the odd beef in her time!) if they knew the basic beats and speeds.

If you have nothing in view, and cannot fit something in shortly, I would be grateful to find out the name and publisher of a book. Arbeau is very limited and I know of nothing else.

PATRICK TAYLOR, *Artistic Director, Musica Antiqua, 116 Sea Lane, Goring-by-Sea, Sussex.*

Madeleine Inglehearne replies:

I have compiled a few notes which may answer Patrick Taylor's need. I really cannot see the necessity to research every dance title in Susato, etc., since they nearly all fall into one of the categories in my list.

I have consulted Tony Rooley and he does not suggest any 'variants or fill-ins'. Other dances referred to in books of dance music are something of a mystery, i.e.:

RONDE There are no descriptions of dances specifically called 'Ronde'. The name implies a round dance and rhythmically they fit either a Branle (a

Table of timings and drum beats for Renaissance dance music

PAVANE _ 𝅗𝅥 _ 80	drum |𝅗𝅥 ♩ ♩|
BASSE DANCE _ 𝅗𝅥. _ 55	drum |𝅗𝅥 ♩|♩ ♩ ♩| (as given by Arbeau in his 'Orchésography' 1588)
TORDION _ 𝅗𝅥. _ 55	drum |♩ ♩ ♩|𝅗𝅥. ♪ ♩|
GALLIARDE _ ♩ _ 115	drum as for Tordion *(if used)
ALMAINE _ 𝅗𝅥 _ 100	drum |𝅗𝅥 ♩ ♩|𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥|
BRANLES _	
Double	
Simple	
de Bourgogne	
de Champagne 𝅗𝅥 _ 100	drum |𝅗𝅥 ♩ ♩|𝅗𝅥 ♩ ♩|
Gai	
de Poitou 𝅗𝅥. _ 65	drum |♩ ♩ ♩|𝅗𝅥 ♩|

* I personally prefer to have no drum for the Galliarde and am in fact doubtful about its value in Branle Gai, Branle de Poitou or even Tordion, though it may be useful in this latter in order to set the tempo for the musicians and to provide the link-up with the Basse Dance which has gone before. A drum can give a 'heaviness' to what are essentially light, springing dances.

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line of dancers holding hands in a circle) or an Almaine (couples progressing around the room). Certainly the Breton folk dances called Rondes are similar to Branles. But renaissance Rondes appear in manuscripts alongside Branles and Almaines which implies that there is a difference.

SALTARELLO Again we have no clear idea of what a Saltarello is. The only description of Saltarello are in the 15th-century Italian dance manuscripts which are rather vague. For example Cornazano says 'The Saltarello is the gayest of all the dances, the Spanish calling it the Alta Danza. It simply consists of doubles which are undulated because of the rising movement onto the second short step, and then beaten between one pulse and the next and are balanced by the movement of the first step which carries the body.'

In fact it appears from these manuscripts that Saltarello is more a dance rhythm than a specific dance. Many of their Balli begin with Saltarello then switch to other rhythms, i.e. Bassa Danza, Quadernaria, Piva, possibly coming back to Saltarello again during the course of the dance. In the 16th century, however, the Saltarello seems to appear at the end of the dance rather in the manner of the Galliarde which follows the Pavane, and in fact Galliarde can be danced to Saltarello.

In the face of these mysteries I suggest that musicians can please themselves about drumming and speed unless they are playing for dancers, in which case they will have to find out what dance is to be done to the music.

Instrumentation manual

I am in the process of writing a manual of instrumentation in which I would like to discuss, in addition to the standard modern instruments, the various early instruments that have come into use again in recent years. Much of the information I need is hard to find, and I would very much appreciate it if readers of *Early Music* could help me.

For wind instruments I need complete fingering charts, including all trill fingerings and high extension tones; for strings I need (1) the highest note on the fingerboard, whether that note is traditionally used or not, (2) the highest note, if any, that can be clearly and securely played *beyond* the fingerboard, (3) the highest consistently obtainable natural harmonic, and (4) the maximum left-hand stretch along a single string in first position. For all instruments I would like to know of any unique non-traditional or 'avant-garde' techniques, including, for strings, the possibilities for *scordatura*.

Correspondents should specify the exact type, size, and maker(s) of the instrument on which their information is based (for example: 'Moeck Renaissance bass racket'). I already have sufficient information about the higher recorders (tenor and up), sackbutts, crumhorns (except for 'avant-garde' techniques), and keyboard instruments.

All contributions will be gratefully acknowledged in the book.

ANDREW STILLER, *419 Crescent Avenue, Buffalo, N.Y. 14214, USA.*

Early Music supplements

I wish to bring to the attention of the readers of *Early Music* and the performers who use your supplement series that some additions and corrections are needed for the critical notes which accompany the two Italian dances in the *EM* series 27, published in October 1976. For 'El Bisson', Mr Jerome Kohl of Seattle, Washington, points out that there exists one earlier concordance: the tenor line of pavane 5 of Attaingnant's *6 Gailliardes et 6 Pavanes, 1530*$_4$, f.4^v, and one later concordance, in the Hessen part-books, *1555*$_2$, no. 12.

CAROLINE CUNNINGHAM, *Manhattan School of Music, 120 Claremont Avenue, New York, NY 10027, USA.*

Folies d'Espagne

Susan Goertzel Sandman and your readers may be interested to know that 'Folies d'Espagne' and 'Marche des Mousquetaires' (*EM*, January, pp. 33-34) are recorded, with authentic instruments, by das Oboenensemble Michel Piguet on Electrola 1C 063-29 080.

There appears to be a misprint in bar 35 of the 'Folies' where the 4th quaver of the bassoon part should be an E.

J. B. YOUNG, *11 Eton Place, London NW3 2BT.*

*

Night Music at St Donat's

Dr Branko Polić, leading organizer of the Zadar Festival, has pointed out that the theme title given in the report in our January issue to the theme of the 1976 'Musical Evenings at St Donat's', 'Reformation and Counter-Reformation', was not quite accurate in that this was just one aspect. The theme covering the whole Festival was in fact 'Social Upheavals of the 16th and early 17th century as Reflected in Music' to which the Camerata Hungarica contributed predominantly early Hungarian music, including works by Bakfark, recently published in Budapest, and Pro Cantiones Antiqua some early Slovenian and Croatian masters such as Skjavetic, Lukacic and Jelic. The broadcasting and televising of all concerts by Yugoslav Radio-television ensured artists of a wide audience. There was also a successful round table discussion by outstanding Yugoslav musicologists, in particular Dr Marijan Grgic on the Ars Antiqua and Ars Nova in the 17th-century Zadar codices. 1977 Musical Evenings at St Donat's will be dedicated to Guillaume de Machaut and will take place from 5 to 12 August.

Restoration of a square piano

Mr Erling Skaug, Director of the Norsk Folkemuseum in Oslo possesses an Astor & Horwood square piano (dated between 1815 and 1822) in tolerably good—and luckily unaltered—condition. Unfortunately, many of the strings are missing. The question of restoring it greatly depends on the possibility of providing new strings in the same dimensions, alloys, etc, as the original ones. In his article on early pianos (*Early Music*, Vol 1, No 1), Mr Colt mentioned that exact reproductions were made many years ago by Dr Ruck, instruments that once belonged to Mozart and Beethoven, an expensive procedure. Mr Skaug is seeking information on what the actual possibilities are today.

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York Early Music Week 1977

Five instrumentalists from France, Austria, Belgium, the USA and Britain playing a Gabrieli canzona provided the most apt illustration of the international flavour of York's first Early Music Week, which took place at the College of Ripon and York St John from 16 to 23 April. The internationalism was only one aspect of the week's refreshing uniqueness and importance. Highly significant for the future direction of the 'early music' movement was the lack of ties with the hothouse parochialism of London's music-making: of the three guiding spirits behind the week, two were from Yorkshire (Richard Phillips, Music Officer of the Yorkshire Arts Association which originated the venture, and John Bryan of York's Landini Consort) while the third, Anthony Rooley, made it clear that he wanted to return to his home county as a permanent base in the near future. Significant too was the widely-based support which the agency of a non-specialist organization like the Yorkshire Arts Association was able to obtain: it was a welcome precedent that Pernod of France, a firm with a good record of supporting the arts in the regions, subsidized the week's activities. The approval of the town was evident in the presence of the Deputy Mayor at the opening, and in the range of halls that were made available for concerts. Finally, there was the (to some unsettling) presence of the media: readers of the Yorkshire press were made well aware of events during the week; reports and previews appeared in national dailies and Sundays; and the week was featured in broadcasts on Radio 3, Radio 4 and the World Service.

Thus there was a feeling at York, I think, that what was happening had a wide perspective—and this added to the sense of purposeful activity which was (to an observer) the week's most notable feature. The commuting consumer of classes and workshops could hear Emma Kirkby coaxing strong, forceful lines from a younger soprano in a Dowland song, or Anthony Rooley explaining how his approach to ornamentation in a Dowland galliard had changed over the years. Jane Ryan worked on bass viol duets, John Bryan on French song between Machaut and Dufay; while Polly Waterfield, Trevor Jones and Ian Gammie directed viol consorts, and Edward Huws Jones introduced beginners to the lute. On the fringes, students built a lute in the college workshop, Brian Jordan ran a superbly-stocked bookshop, and the Bradford Early Music Shop gave an all-too-brief display of their instruments. Two informal concerts were given during the week by students.

These course events were complemented each afternoon and evening by lectures, and by concerts open to the public, which developed the themes of the week. In the last few days Matthew Locke (*d* 1677) and Bach were featured: the former in a concert by the King's Musick and a lecture by Michael Tilmouth; the latter in a concert by the Yorkshire Baroque Soloists and a lecture by Wilfrid Mellers. Again, the excellent emphasis on local groups was evident in the first concerts of the week, which were based around the music of Guillaume de Machaut (*d* 1377). The opening concert was given by the Landini Consort directed by Peter Syrus in the College chapel, the second by the university-based Early Music Group of York in the superb Merchant Adventurers' Hall. The directors of the latter group, Christopher Page and Lewis Jones, gave a lecture later in the week in which they explained and demonstrated the imaginative reconstructions (which they used in their concert) of the instruments illustrated in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. The Consort of Musicke gave a Dowland concert, complemented by a lecture from Anthony Rooley. Machaut formed the basis of two lectures, one by David Fallows, who demonstrated the large-scale form found in a monophonic *lai* by Machaut which he discovered in a *trouvère*-type manuscript in Lille; and one by Jacques and Sylvette Leguy (who are currently producing an edition of Machaut's complete works) in which they explained some theoretical and practical bases of their work. This Machaut celebration was crowned by a performance of the *Messe de Notre Dame* in York Minster, by the Taverner Consort under Andrew Parrott. The contribution of course members to this concert in the singing of the plainsong Mass Proper, the fact that we had been able to sing through the Mass informally earlier in the week, and to thrash out in discussion some of the many problems concerning its realization seems to me the ideal result of the combination of festival, course, discussion group and forum provided by this York Early Music Week.

The week was planned as a trailer for a much larger event, lasting three weeks, to be held in York next summer. If financial support is forthcoming, the enthusiasm of the public (the 90 places in the College were soon filled and added to by a large number of non-residents) and of concert-goers seems assured. We are lucky to have those with the artistic imagination and administrative ability to see it through. The York Early Music Festival 1978 should flourish.

NICHOLAS KENYON

Recordings

L'Oiseau Lyre have recently issued a record by the Academy of Ancient Music under Christopher Hogwood of six Vivaldi flute concertos in All Saints Church, Petersham. The flute player is Stephen Preston and he is accompanied by four members of the Academy playing baroque string instruments.

The third Grand Prix du Disque to be won this year by Anthony Rooley and the Consort of Musicke is the *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes*, a 4-LP survey of Renaissance secular music recorded in the 'Florilegium' series. This group has recently signed an exclusive contract with Decca for an extended series of the Florilegium recordings.

Acknowledgement

The 16th-century French painting on the cover of our April issue, *A Ball at the Court of Henri IV* by Louis de Caullery, was reproduced by courtesy of Photographie Giraudon, 9 rue des Beaux-Arts, Paris 6. It is in the Musée de Rennes.

Correction

The title of Joscelyn Godwin's article (*EM*, April 1977), should have read 'Mains divers acors'. The quotation on page 271 was incorrectly attributed to Shelley instead of Keats.

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COMPILED BY JUDY SMITH

The combinations of pressure on space in this issue and an accumulated mass of material has made it impossible to fill the restrospective gap since the last appearance of Activities. What follows is but a small selection of the more topical happenings. We hope that readers will not be discouraged if their items have not been included this time and we anticipate that the October issue will find the column restored to its former comprehensiveness. Please send all material to Christopher Monk, Stock Farm House, Churt, Farnham, Surrey GU10 2LS, England.

Concerts

Australia

The Early Music Consort of Melbourne (medieval harp, saz, lute, rauschpfeife, shawm and positiv organ) presented a programme of medieval and renaissance music songs and dances entitled 'Music for Pastime and Dalliance'.

England

The London Early Music Group made their London debut at the Queen Elizabeth Hall on 25 January in a programme entitled 'The Pleasures of the Court', music from the courts for royal patrons: Maximilian I (1500-1519), Isabella d'Este (1490-1539), Fernando de Medici (1586-1609) and Elizabeth I of England (1590-1603). Music was by Hofhaimer, Senfl, Isaac, Dall'Aquila Tromboncino, Martini, Ockeghem, Cara da Milano, De Vado, Caccini, Marenzio Virgiliano, Cavalieri, Johnson, Byrd, Holborne, Ferrabosco and Morley, and the musicians, directed by James Tyler, were Paul Elliott (tenor), David Watkins (harp, percussion), Oliver Brookes (bass viol, recorders), Alan Lumsden (sackbut, recorders, flute), Nigel North (lute, cittern, viols) and James Tyler (lute, mandora, guitar, tenor viol, recorders and tabor). They gave concerts in Holland during February, and have tours arranged for later in the year in Scandinavia, France and Belgium. The group also made their first TV appearance on 24 April when they illustrated a programme in the series *The People's Echo—Songs with a story to tell* (BBC-TV) which traced the tune of Greensleeves through 400 years of change.

'Ma Maitresse': a concert of late 15th-century court music was given by the London Pro Musica with Kevin Smith (alto) at the Wigmore Hall on 15 January.

The Consort of Musicke's programme at the Purcell Room on 30 January consisted of 'Songs for the lute, viol and voice' (1606) and 'Funerall Teares' (1606) by Danyel and Coprario.

Les Luthistes illustrated the tradition of pastoral dialogue in English song extending from the Elizabethan composers Ferrabosco and Jones to the end of the 17th century with Lawes and Purcell, in a programme called 'The Amorous Dialogue' at the Wigmore Hall on 8 February.

L'Ecole d'Orphée played works by Couperin, Boismortier, Guillemain and Telemann at the Wigmore Hall on 13 January, and on 16 April they presented pieces by Telemann, Forqueray, Guigon, Blavet and Guillemain at the same venue. Three members of the ensemble, John Holloway, Charles Medlam and John Toll, gave a programme of J. S. Bach, Telemann, Leclair and Couperin on 14 February.

'Why should the Devil have all the best tunes?' asked the Praetorius Consort in a programme which explored the popular and early folk music origins of the renaissance Mass and the Lutheran Chorale. The programme was devised and introduced by Clifford Armstrong and was presented at St. John's, Smith Square on 25 February. The Consort was joined by Counterpoint, a group of ex choral scholars of St John's College, Cambridge.

The London Lassus Ensemble sang canzoni, madrigals and moreschi by Orlando di Lasso and Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli at the Queen Elizabeth Hall on 1 March.

The recorder recital by Carl Dolmetsch, with John Mills, guitar, Joseph Saxby, harpsichord, and Marguerite Dolmetsch, viola da gamba, at the Wigmore Hall on 4 March included works by Sanz, De Fesch, Locatelli and Telemann, as well as the first performance of Suite for recorder and guitar by Alan Hoddinott.

The English Bach Festival Baroque Ensemble, with Marilyn Hill Smith, soprano, Michael Goldthorpe, tenor and Ian Caddy, baritone, gave performances of 'Bach in Costume' at the Banqueting House, Whitehall on 7 March. The Coffee Cantata, Sonata for violin and continuo (BWV 1023), and Suite No. 2 (BWV 1067) made up the programme.

At the Victoria and Albert Museum on 12 March the Academy of Ancient Music performed excerpts from the baroque volumes of *Musica Britannica*. The instruments used included the Vaudry harpsichord (French *c.*1681) and the Queen Elizabeth virginals (Italian late 16th century) from the V & A collections. The concert was presented to accompany the V & A exhibition 'A Tonic to the Nation' which celebrated the 25th anniversary of *Musica Britannica*.

Lully's *Alceste* was performed by the London Opera Centre with an orchestra from Trinity College, conducted by James Robertson, on 18 and 19 March.

While the Early Music Week was taking place in York, the Yorkshire Baroque Soloists were performing in London at the Purcell Room. Their concert on 17 April included works by J. S. Bach, Stamitz and A. Scarlatti.

The Bridewell Early Music Consort visited Cambridge on 23 April to give a recital of French and English music from 1300 to 1650 at Holy Trinity Church. The large collection of early instruments used by the Consort included, on this occasion, consorts of shawms, and crumhorns as well as lutes, rebecs, bandora and spinet.

The Legrand Ensemble, on 7 May at the Royal Northern College of Music, gave a concert which included the first performance of 'A Memory of David Munrow' by Peter Dickinson. The concert was sponsored by Midland Bank and received support from North West Arts.

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Full details from: STIMU, Drift 21,
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THE ENGLISH CONCERT

Director: Trevor Pinnock

SUNDAY 10TH JULY, 8 p.m.
CLAYDON HOUSE, BUCKINGHAM
Stephen Preston *traverse flute*, Simon Standage *violin*, Anthony Pleeth *cello*, Trevor Pinnock *harpsichord*
BACH: Partita in A minor for solo flute; Suite in D for solo cello; Sonata in E for violin and harpsichord: Trios by COUPERIN and HANDEL.

TUESDAY 26TH JULY, 7.30 p.m.
ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, DOWNSHIRE HILL, HAMPSTEAD
As for Claydon House 10th July.

TUESDAY 2ND AUGUST
DARTINGTON SUMMER SCHOOL OF MUSIC
The Principals of The English Concert:
Trevor Pinnock *harpsichord*, Stephen Preston *traverse flute*, Simon Standage *and* Eleanor Sloan *violins*, Trevor Jones *viola*, Anthony Pleeth *cello*, Keith Marjoram *double bass*
BIBER, BACH, HAYDN, and VIVALDI

THURSDAY 8TH SEPTEMBER, 7.30 p.m.
WIGMORE HALL
The Principals of The English Concert
with soprano and bass soloists
BIBER: Serenade for Strings and Night Watchman
BACH: Brandenburg Concerto No. 5; Peasant Cantata

TUESDAY 13TH SEPTEMBER, 7.30 p.m.
ST. JOHN'S, DOWNSHIRE HILL, HAMPSTEAD
The English Concert
***directed from the harpsichord* by Trevor Pinnock**
***Soloists:* Stephen Preston, Simon Standage, Anthony Pleeth**
Programme includes concertos by VIVALDI and BACH for flute, violin, cello, and harpsichord.

SUNDAY 25TH SEPTEMBER, 7.30 p.m.
DYRHAM PARK, near BATH
The Principals of The English Concert
JOHN BASTON, CORELLI, SCARLATTI, PURCELL, HANDEL, GEMINIANI, and VIVALDI

SUNDAY 2ND OCTOBER, 7.30 p.m.
BLICKLING HALL, NORFOLK
The Principals of The English Concert
BACH: Flute Suite in B minor; Violin Concerto in E; Trio in G; Brandenburg Concerto No. 5

THURSDAY 8TH OCTOBER, 7.30 p.m.
WIGMORE HALL
The Principals of The English Concert
PURCELL: Chacony; Fantasia 3 to a ground; Incidental Music to "A Midsummer Night's Dream".
BACH: Concertos in E for harpsichord, A minor for violin, E for violin.

THURSDAY 3RD NOVEMBER *and* 29TH DECEMBER, 7.30 p.m.
WIGMORE HALL
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A CHRISTMAS PROGRAMME
Details on request.

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Sweden

L'Incoronazione di Poppea was performed in Stockholm again this year, 24 May-8 June, with sackbuts, crumhorns, recorders, a regal, lutes, chitarrones, baroque violins and a grand viol in the orchestra. The Vadstena Academy will give *Ottone*, by Vivaldi, in June-July in a concert performance; and a full opera performance of *Alessandro*, by Tricarico, in July-August.

USA

On 8 May a group with the intriguing title of The Guidonian Hand presented a concert of English renaissance music entitled 'The New Year's Gift: English consort music' in St Paul's Episcopal Church, San Diego. Music by Holborne, Dowland, Brade and Morley formed the programme of songs, dances and instrumental works.

Courses

Austria

From 17-31 July at Schloss Breiteneich there is to be a workshop including music ensembles, dance, and instrument-making. A variety of renaissance woodwinds can be made and a special department for metal work will be available. The workshop will include facilities for the making of all double reeds for historic and modern woodwinds. Further information from Walter Hermann Sallagar, A-1030 Vienna, Neulinggasse 42/10. Horace Fitzpatrick's annual courses in baroque and classical ensemble-playing, formerly held at Schloss Carlslust in Lower Austria, will be held this year (31 July-14 August) and in future at Schloss Ebenthal, a baroque country palace 24 miles north-east of Vienna. The increased facilities now available have allowed classes in bel canto singing (Jane Gartner, Musica Antiqua, Vienna) and baroque flute (Nicolas McGegan, Royal College of Music, London), to be added. Further information from: The Organizer, Baroque Summer Academy Schloss Ebenthal, c/o Duckets House, Steeple Aston, Oxford, England, or Frau Gabriele von Friedberg, A/1010,Vienna 1, Schultergasse 5, Austria.

England

The Lute Society's Summer School is to be held at St Paul's College, Cheltenham from 13-20 August. The course is intended for lute-players of all standards, including absolute beginners, and interested non-players. Tuition is offered in renaissance and baroque lute, cittern and bandora, and in addition there are classes, consort playing and other instrumental and vocal activities with viols and wind instruments. The Secretary is Francesca McManus, 71 Priory Road, Kew Gardens, Richmond, Surrey TW9 3DH.

The Tenth Annual Summer School of the Dolmetsch Historical Dance Society will be held at Durham from 6-13 August. The dances taught will be those of the time of Elizabeth I from England, France, Italy and Spain. The School is being run in parallel with The Northumbrian Recorder and Viol Summer School and there will be opportunities for informal music making and shared evening concerts. Further details (s.a.e. please) from Summer School Administrator, 57 Frances Street, Chesham, Bucks. HP5 3ES. The Music Director of the Northumbrian Recorder and Viol School is Layton Ring, and enquiries should be sent to the Secretary, Mrs Mabel Binns, Randalholme, Claremont Avenue, Lemington, Newcastle upon Tyne NE15 7LE (0632 674573).

The John Loosemore Centre in Buckfastleigh, S. Devon, held its first keyboard study weekend on 29 April, directed by the brilliant young Belgian organist and musicologist, Jean Ferrard. The subject was 'Flemish Keyboard Music of the 16th and 17th Centuries', and the instruments provided for the participants were the Loosemore organ and a copy of a 17th-century Flemish virginals. Composers studied were Sweelinck, Cornet, van den Kerckhoven, Philips and Bull. M. Ferrard has specialised in these composers and analysed in detail the links between the two

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schools. Among the issues that arose in workshop sessions were choice of instrument and text, fingering, articulation and organ registration. Colin Tilney, who started out as an observer, ended up as an active and outstanding participant on the organ, and in discussions. On 30 April M. Ferrard's recital on both instruments also included pieces by Krebs and Bach. The success of the course bodes well for the series of four keyboard weekends which will be held at the Loosemore Centre next academic year.

Italy

Early in May the Centro Studi Rinascimento Musicale's International Congress of Musicology had as its theme The Camerata of Giovannie Bardi de Conti di Vernio: new perspectives. Later in the year, in addition to courses on various renaissance instruments, there will be a course of singing dedicated to the vocal technique and the interpretation of Italian music of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Exhibitions

Australia

'The Lutes with the Delicate Air' is the title of the first exhibition in Australia of early stringed instruments made by Australian craftsmen. It is to be held from 25 June-11 July at the Australia Music Centre, 80 George Street, The Rocks, Sydney, and six concerts will accompany the exhibition.

England

This year's Exhibition of Early Musical Instruments, 15, 16 and 17 September, will be held entirely under the auspices of the newly formed Association of Early Music Instrument Makers, although it will be administered by the Early Music Shop (28 Sunbridge Road, Bradford, W. Yorkshire BD1 2AE). An acute shortage of space at the Royal College of Music made it necessary for the Exhibition to seek a new home and this is to be the Horticultural New Hall, off Vincent Street, in the Victoria area of London. The Hall makes it possible to offer improved facilities to exhibitors and visitors and there is no restriction on the sale of instruments within the confines of the exhibition. The organizers hope to put on ancilliary attractions such as concerts on each of the three evenings and to offer other musical events during the day. Correspondence should be addressed to the Early Music Shop.

Festivals

Belgium

The Flanders Festival will take place in Bruges from 28 July to 12 August. The two themes are The Harpsichord, in the first week, and J. S. Bach and His Contemporaries, in the second. The harpsichord week includes international harpsichord competitions, lectures, and exhibitions and the Bach week will explore all aspects of his work. Details are available from the Tourist Office, Markt 7, B-8000 Bruges, Belgium. Telephone (50) 33 07 11.

England

Of great interest in this year's English Bach Festival were the visits of Nikolaus Harnoncourt's Concentus Musicus of Vienna, making their first London appearance, a staged performance at the Royal Opera House of the divertissements from Rameau's *La Princesse de Navarre* conducted by Jean-Claude Malgoire, and the Collegium Aureum playing both Beethoven's Triple Concerto in C major and the *Eroica* Symphony on original instruments. Especially welcome visitors to Britain were the Kuijkens, whose international reputation has grown to an astonishing extent since their last performances here, in a programme of Bach and Rameau's *Pièces de clavecin en concert*.

France

The Festival Estival de Paris 1977, 15 July-23 September, will include the Third International Harpsichord Competition (16-20 September); an international harpsichord making and kit assembling session (6-31 August) and a baroque violin course by Marie Leonhardt (16-26 August). Enquiries to 5 Place des Ternes, Paris 17.

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Recently released as single albums:

"Lobet Gott in seinen Reichen", BWV 11
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"Meine Seel erhebt den Herren", BWV 10
"Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder", BWV 135
"Ein ungefärbt Gemüte", BWV 24
⊙ 2533 329

"Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn", BWV 23
"Bisher habt ihr nichts gebeten in meinem Namen", BWV 87
⊙ 2533 313
"O ewiges Feuer, o Ursprung der Liebe", BWV 34
"Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt", BWV 68
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USA

The Winter Festival of the New England Society for the Plucked String took place from 6-9 January in Exeter, New Hampshire. The Festival was made up of daily workshops, panel discussions, seminars, master classes concerning various aspects of plucked instruments—performance techniques, vocal accompaniment, ensemble playing, teaching, musicology, research and instrument building, and nightly concerts.

Yugoslavia

The Music Evenings at St Donat's which have been an annual event in Zadar since 1961 will take place this year from 27 July to 16 August. The theme this time is 16th century music, covering the late Renaissance, the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, and both Yugoslav and foreign artists will be taking part.

Groups and individuals

England

The Extempore String Ensemble was formed in 1975 to perform English renaissance music in the manner of the time. The ensemble plays copies of the instruments of the period—Robin Jeffrey (lute, flute), Rosemary Thorndycraft (viols), Janet Trent (violin, viol), Peter Trent (lute, viol), and George Weigand (lute and cittern). It has played extensively in London and throughout the British Isles.

David Kettlewell's thesis about dulcimers and other instruments has been passed for the award of a doctorate by Loughborough University. David is currently lecturing in music at Bishop Lonsdale College and periodically plays and lectures about instruments.

A Kirkman harpsichord built in 1764 was the instrument used by Elizabeth Lightoller when she and the two cellists, Kate Beare and Jonathan Williams, gave a recital of works by J. S. Bach, Scarlatti, Geminiani and De Kesch, at the Wigmore Hall on 2 April.

France

A new centre called 'La Maison de la Musique Ancienne' has been set up in Paris. The aim of the centre is to provide everything that is needed—instruments, scores, information and advice—for the full development of early music in France. A wide range of instruments is provided, together with a number in kit form. There are to be introductory courses in the building of kits, and more advanced courses on the tuning, adjustment and maintenance of harpsichords. Courses on the interpretation of early music will be organized and an extensive collection of photos and scale drawings of instruments will be maintained. The address is 88 rue Saint Martin, 75004 Paris (272 62 10).

A medieval faire is being planned for Alford, Lincolnshire, England, to replace a similar event held previously at Barsham. The organizers are seeking groups of musicians to perform at the faire. The dates are 27, 28, 29 August. Contact Geoffrey Ling, Comfrey Cottage, Bag Enderby, Spilsby, Lincs. (Telephone Stenigot 301).

USA

Under the direction of D. Kern Holoman the Early Music Ensemble of the University of California toured England and France during March, presenting varied and unusual programmes at concerts in Paris, Oxford, London and Winchester. In London, at St. John's, Smith Square on 24 March, they performed choral and instrumental works by Verdelot, Josquin, Ockeghem and Pierre de la Rue.

Wales

An early music group is being formed in Gwent. Players of renaissance and baroque instruments are needed and anyone who is interested should write to Miss D. M. Davies, Sky House, Pentre Road, Abergavenny, Gwent NPY 7BE, for details (sae please).

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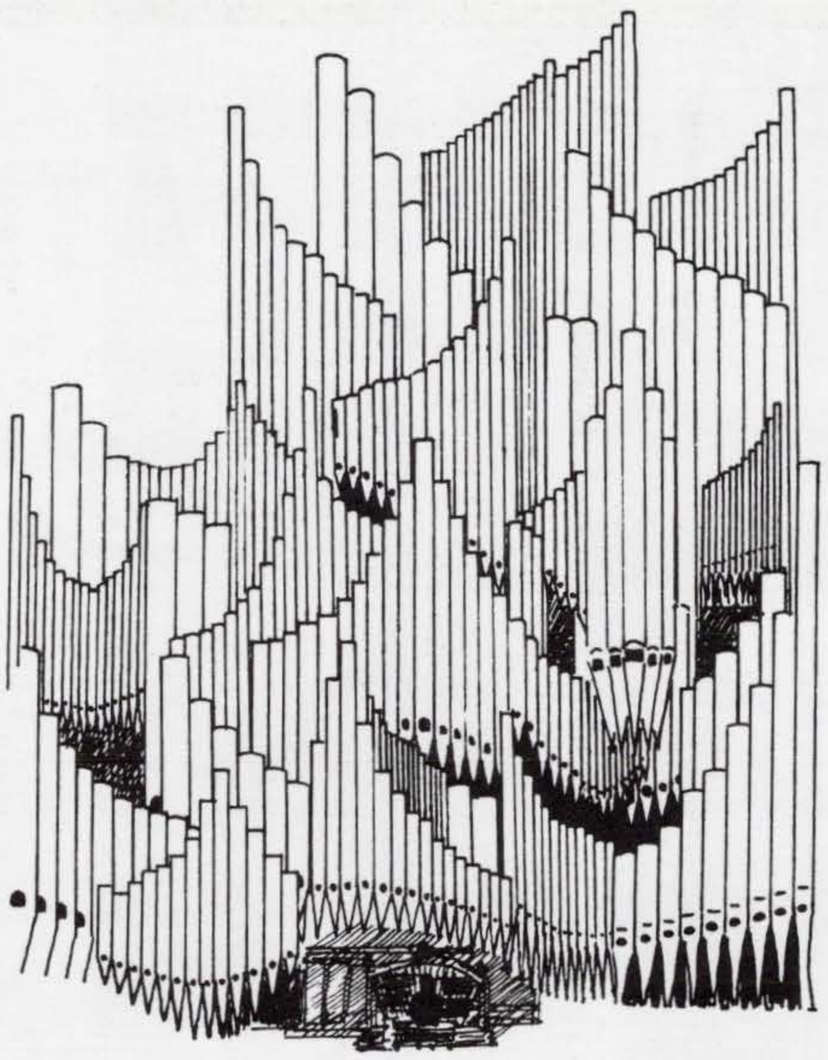

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ALBINONI
(12) Concerti, Op. 7
Pierlot, Borgonovo (oboes), Toso (violin), I Solisti Veneti/Scimone
70883 (2)
G Mar p1386, RR Mar p41

BACH, C. P. E.
Magnificat in D, W 215
Palmer (soprano), Watts (contralto), Tear (tenor), Roberts (bass), Choir of King's College, Cambridge, Academy of St Martin-in-the-Fields/Ledger
ZRG 853
G Mar p1437, HFN Mar p97, RR Apr p80

BACH, J. S.
Cantatas, BWV 1, 4, 6, 12, 23, 67, 87, 92, 104, 108, 126, 158, 182
Mathis (soprano), Reynolds (mezzo-soprano), Töpper (contralto), Schreier, Haefliger (tenors), Fischer-Dieskau (baritone), Adam (bass-baritone), Munich Bach Choir and Orchestra/Richter
2722 022 (6) (R)
G Apr p1578, HFN Apr p133, RR Apr p79

Cantatas, BWV 57-60
Jelosits, Kronwitter (trebles), Esswood (counter-tenor), Equiluz (tenor), van der Meer (bass), Tölz Boys' Choir, Vienna Concentus Musicus/N. Harnoncourt
EX6 35305 (2) G Apr p1581, RR Apr p78

Cantatas, BWV 61-64
Artists as above
EX6 35306 (2) G Apr p1581

Flute sonatas: B minor, BWV 1030; A major, BWV 1032; E minor, BWV 1034; E major, BWV 1035; Sonata for flute and violin in G major, BWV 1038; Sonata in G major for two flutes, BWV 1039
Stastny, Brüggen (flutes), A. Harnoncourt (violin), N. Harnoncourt ('cello), Tachezi (harpsichord)
EX6 35339 (2) G Feb p1296, RR Dec p75

Orchestral suite, No. 2, in B minor, BWV 1067; Concerto in D minor for two violins, BWV 1043; Flute sonata in A minor, BWV 1013
von Bahr (flute), Kamu, Segerstrom (violins), Stockholm National Museum Chamber Orchestra/Gènetay
BIS LP 21 G Mar p1457

Orchestral suite, No. 3, in D major, BWV 1068
Couperin, F.
Les goûts-reunis, No. 8, in G major; Pièces en concert
Brydon (harpsichord), Wilbraham (trumpet), Tortelier (cello), Scottish Chamber Orchestra/Tortelier
ASD 3321 G Apr p1570

St John Passion, BWV 245 (excerpts)
Ameling, Koehnlein-Goebel (sopranos), Hamari (contralto), Ellenbeck, Isenhardt, Hollweg (tenors), Berry, Ahrens, Ackerman, Prey (basses), Stuttgart Hymnus Boys' Choir, Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra/Munchinger
SXL 6778 (R)
G Apr p1578, HFN Apr p151, RR Apr p79

St Matthew Passion, BWV 244
Suddaby (soprano), Ferrier (contralto), Green (tenor), Boyce, Clinton, Cummings, Parsons (basses), Lofthouse (harpsichord), Peasgood (organ), Bach Choir, Jacques Orchestra/Jacques
D42 D3 (3) (R) G Apr p1578, RR Apr p79

Clavierübung, part 3
Fritz Heitman (Schnitger organ, Eosander Chapel, Charlottenburg Castle, Berlin)
AJ6 41977 (rec 1938) RR Feb p74

Toccata, adagio and fugue in C major, BWV 564; Fantasia in G major, BWV 572; Trio sonata in E flat major, BWV 525; Passacaglia and fugue in C minor, BWV 582
Gillian Weir (Marcussen organ, Laurenskirk, Rotterdam)
ZK 10
G Apr p1570, HFN Apr p132, RR Apr p68

Trio sonata in E flat major, BWV 525; Prelude and fugue in E minor, BWV 548; Passacaglia and fugue in C minor, BWV 582
Hans Fagius (Marcussen organ, Vimmerly)
BIS LP 63 RR Mar p74

BOYCE
Anthems: O where shall wisdom be found? Turn unto me, O Lord; By the waters of Babylon; I have surely built Thee an house; Voluntaries 1, 2, 4, 10
Gifford (organ), Choir of Ely Cathedral/Wills (solo organ)
5440
G Mar p1437, HFN Mar p99, RR Mar p88

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EK 35307 (2) HFN Feb p113

BYRD
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ZRG 858
G Apr p1582, HFN Mar p101, RR Mar p89

My Ladye Nevells Booke
Christopher Hogwood (harpsichord)
D29 D4 (4)
G Jan p1160, HFN Jan p103, RR Feb p77

CORELLI
(12) Concerti grossi, Op. 6
Slovak Chamber Orchestra/Warchal
91110442-44 RR Mar p48

DOWLAND
Lute works
Julian Bream (lute)
ARL1 1491
G Jan p1161, HFN Apr p135, RR Feb p79

GIBBONS
The first song of Moses; Preces and responses for Whitsunday, including Psalm 145 (second setting); Second service: Voluntary I; Te Deum; Voluntary II; Jubilate; Anthems: See, see, the word is incarnate; This is the record of John; Glorious and powerful God
Choir of King's College, Cambridge, Preston (organ), Jacobean Consort of Viols (inc. Thurston Dart)/Willcocks
ZK 8 (R)
G Apr p1582, HFN Apr p151, RR Apr p81

Praise the Lord, O my soul; Lord we beseech Thee; O clap your hands; Hymnes and songs of the Church (13); O Lord in Thy wrath; I am the resurrection; See, see, the word is incarnate; Hosanna to the son of David
The Clerkes of Oxenford/Wulstan
CAL 1611 G Nov p851, RR Feb p85

GRANDI
Dixit Dominus; O quam tu pulchra es; Exaudi Deus; Vulnerasti cor meum; O vos omnes; Ave Regina; Jesu mi dulcissime; Plorabo die ac nocte
Accademia Monteverdiana, Trinity Boys' Choir/Stevens
H 71329 RR Feb p86

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SAGA 5347-8

SPANISH MUSIC OF THE GOLDEN AGE (Encina, Milan, Valderrabano, Morales, Flecha, de la Torre, Ortiz, Alonso, Vasquez, Ponce – and Anon)
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TAVERNER MISSA CORONA SPINEA (coupled with Dum transisset sabbatum)
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17th/18th CENTURY ORGAN MUSIC (Scheidt, Handel, Schmid, Böhm, Albinoni, Tunder, Scheidemann – and Anon)
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SAGA 5403

ENGLISH AND ITALIAN BAROQUE MUSIC FOR FLUTE AND ORGAN (Henry Purcell, Daniel Purcell, Stanley, Poglietti, Matteis, Marcello, Locatelli)
HANS-MARTIN LINDE (flute, recorder), KURT RAPF (organ)
SAGA 5414

MUSIC FOR MERCHANTS AND MONARCHS (Newsidler, Foscarini, Robinson, Mellii, Calvi, Galilei – and Anon)
JAMES TYLER (Renaissance lute, baroque guitar, archlute)
SAGA 5420

MUSIC FOR RECORDER AND HARPSICHORD (Byrd, Farnaby, Rosseter, Dowland, Eccles, d'Hervelois, Handel, Loeillet – and Anon)
MICHAEL ARNO (recorder), ADRIAN BUSH (harpsichord)
SAGA 5425

RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE MUSIC (Le Roy, Purcell, Newsidler, Mudarra, Milan, A. Scarlatti, Cutting, Dowland, Bach, Handel, Vivaldi – and Anon)
TIMOTHY WALKER (guitar)
SAGA 5426

DAQUIN'S BOOK OF NOELS (coupled with organ works by Louis Marchand)
ARTHUR WILLS (Organ of Ely Cathedral)
SAGA 5433-4

MUSIC OF THE RENAISSANCE VIRTUOSI (Bernia, Kapsberger, Piccinnini, Vallet, Borrono, Corbetta, de Rore/Terzi, Allison, Ferrabosco, Castello, Dowland – and Anon)
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GK6 35326 (4)
G Feb p1311, HFN Jan p109, RR Jan p80

Dixit Dominus Domino Meo
Donath, Koeleman (sopranos), Heynis (contralto), van Dolder (tenor), Hollestelle (bass), NCRV Vocal Ensemble, Amsterdam Chamber Orchestra/Voorberg
6580 135 (R)
G Mar p1438, HFN Mar p118, RR Feb p87

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English Chamber Orchestra/Leppard
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Orchestral excerpts including: Alcina—Il ballo (Act 1); Ariodante—Dream music; Berenice—Overture; Faramondo—Overture
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Madrigals
Lausanne Vocal Ensemble and Chamber Orchestra/Corboz
STU 70848-9
G Apr p1587, HFN Apr p141, RR Apr p82

PURCELL
Funeral music for Queen Mary (1695); Anthems: Hear my prayer, O Lord; Remember not, Lord, our offences; Rejoice in the Lord alway; My beloved spake; Blessed art they that fear the Lord
Grier (organ), Choir of King's College, Cambridge, Philip Jones Brass Ensemble, Academy of St Martin-in-the-Fields/Ledger
ASD 3316
G Mar p1443, HFN Mar p111, RR Mar p94

RICHTER
Flute concerto in D major
Benda
Flute concerto in E minor
Branner (flute), Slovak Chamber Orchestra/Warchal
91110375 RR Mar p58

SCARLATTI, A.
Stabat Mater
Freni (soprano), Berganza (mezzo-soprano), Paul Kuentz Chamber Orchestra/Mackerras
2533 324
G Jan p1168, HFN Dec p147, RR Feb p89

SCARLATTI, D.
Harpsichord sonatas: K 28, 208, 209, 490-2, 544, 545, 52, 123, 133
Valda Aveling (harpsichord)
HQS 1365
G Feb p1308, HFN Jan p115, RR Jan p74

Harpsichord sonatas: K 159, 132, 133, 376, 377, 264, 198, 20, 9, 430, 14, 425, 474, 126, 172, 184, 543
Luciano Sgrizzi (harpsichord)
STU 72001 G Mar p1429, HFN Apr p143, RR Mar p85

Harpsichord sonatas: K 430, 394, 395, 259, 260, 308, 309, 429, 460, 461, 9, 402, 403, 446, 206
Blandine Verlet (harpsichord)
6581028
G Apr p1574, HFN Apr p143, RR Apr p76

SCHÜTZ
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Monteverdi Choir of Hamburg/Jürgens
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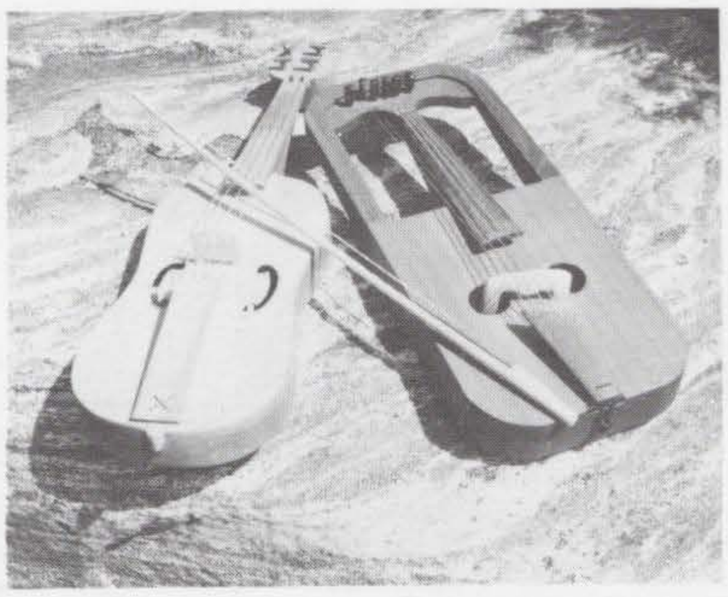

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Perlman (violin/director), London Philharmonic Orchestra
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(12) Concerti, Op. 8 (Trial of Harmony and Invention)
Toso (violin), Pierlot (oboe), I Solisti Veneti/Scimone
STU 70680 (3) (R)
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(12) Concerti, Op. 9 (La Cetra)
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(6) Flute concerti, Op. 10, Nos. 1-6
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Driehuys (oboe), Constantini (bassoon), Gazzelloni (flute), I Musici
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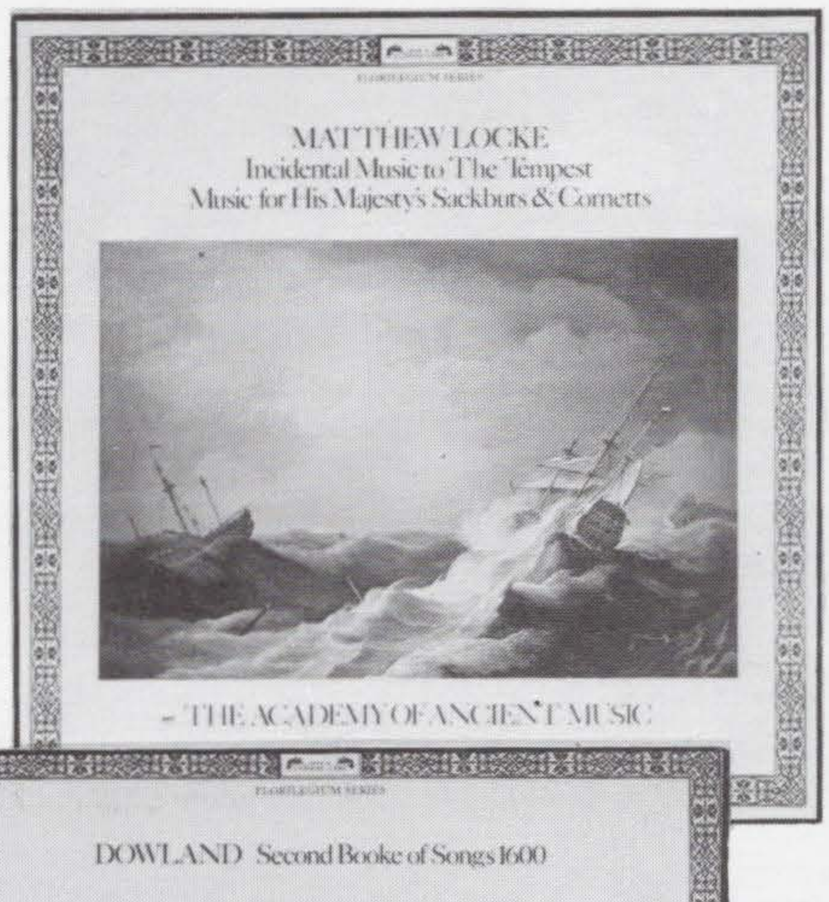

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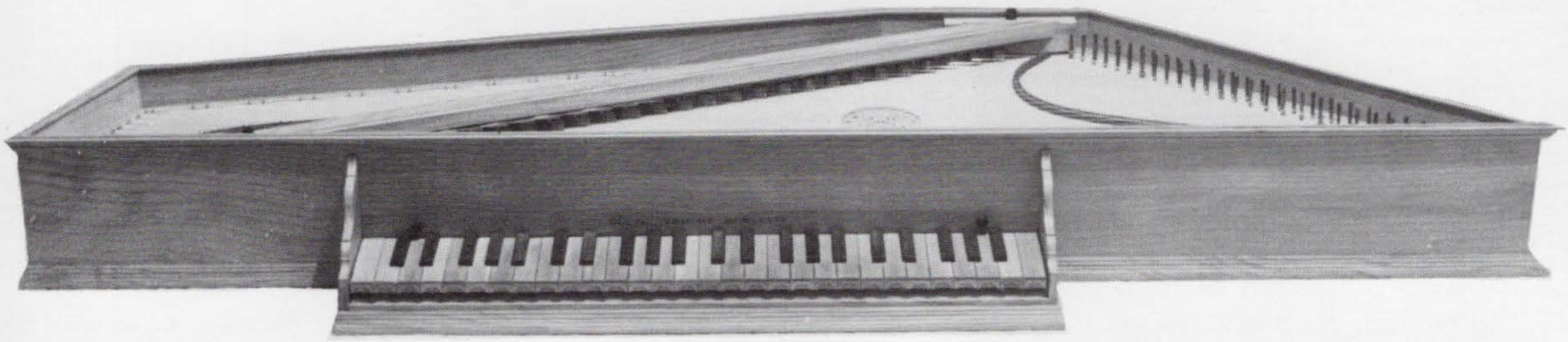

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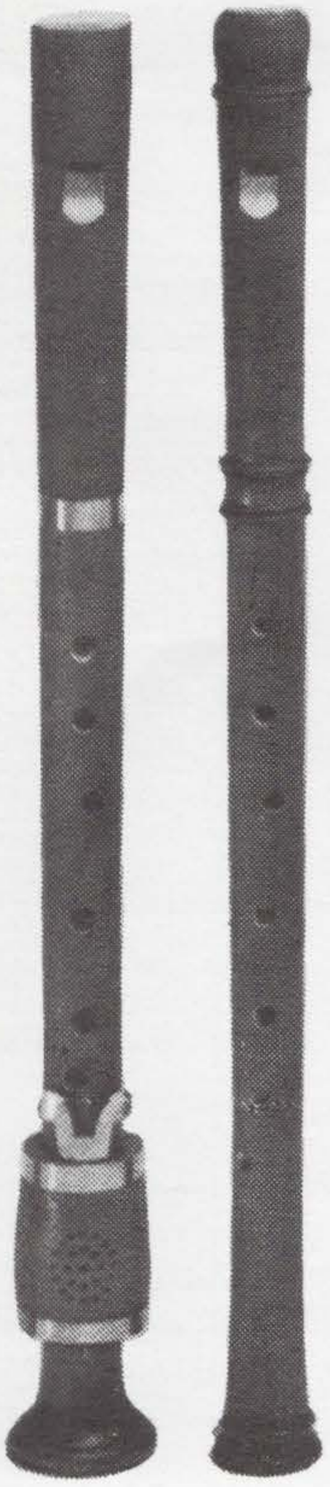
Early Music Department

The BATH MUSIC CENTRE has always kept a large range of recorders, and since the opening of our Early Music Department last year our stocks have increased considerably. We can now offer a choice from many hundreds of instruments ranging from less than £1.50 for a school descant to over £200 for a hand-made Dolmetsch bass or a Renaissance Great bass by Hopf.

BAROQUE Recorders in softwood by Hopf, Schott, Heinrich, Mollenhauer, Roessler & Moeck are all fairly inexpensive and very good value. The Roessler 'Meister' range is available in rosewood, palisander, olivewood and boxwood. In addition the 'Oberlander' is available in African blackwood. The Moeck 'Rottenburg' range offers a choice of bubinga, Honduras Rosewood or Indian Ebony.

RENAISSANCE Recorders by Moeck & Hopf offer different tonal characteristics. Moeck make Descant to Bass in parafinated maple, with a range of 1½ octaves. Hopf offer two ranges; their standard wide-bore range in pear wood and the new 'Michael Praetorius' in tanned sycamore. Both provide instruments in keys other than C & F.
The standard range is from Garklein to Bass, the Michael Praetorius range extends down to a Quart Bass in C and a Quint Bass in B^b, with a choice of two tenors; (illustrated).



Cornetti, Cornamusen, Crumhorns, Racketts, Chalumeaux, Viols, Rebecs, Dulcians, Percussian by Paul Williamson, Lutes by Arthur Robb, Spinet, viol, and lute kits, Strings & Bows are all stocked. Together with an extensive selection of sheet music.
Customer's special order and postal service available, Export orders invited.

4 & 5 GREEN STREET, BATH, AVON.
Tel. Bath 61539

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STOP PRESS

As a direct result of the Conference, Michael Procter is launching *Early Music News* in August this year, a comprehensive mailing and information service on all aspects of early music, for an annual subscription of £1, available from *Early Music News,* 27 Lanhill Road, London W9 2BS, enclosing SAE. A similar scheme for new music operated by the Society for Promotion of New Music has operated successfully for many years, and readers should welcome the service the new venture promises.

The Early Music Centre, founded in 1976 and directed by Anthony Rooley, is extending its activities to launch an Early Music Centre Festival at the Wigmore Hall from 21-27 August. Eight concerts present a conspectus of leading performers and ensembles. The Centre now offers 26 classes in 18 different subjects, has libraries, workshops and Brian Jordan's Early Music Centre bookshop and publishing house.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT

The Viol Issue has regrettably been postponed until January 1978.

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